the weekly
Standard

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A Different Kind of War

ROBERT KAGAN & WILLIAM KRISTOL: The Gathering Storm
CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL: Be Afraid
STEPHEN F. HAYES: George Tenet's CIA
TOD LINDBERG: Fighting During Ramadan
GARY SCHMITT: Why Iraq?
STEPHEN SCHWARTZ: The "Ladenese Epistle"
ERIN SHELEY: Harvard Hates ROTC
DAVID TELL: All About Anthrax
DAVID WURMSER: The Saudis and Osama

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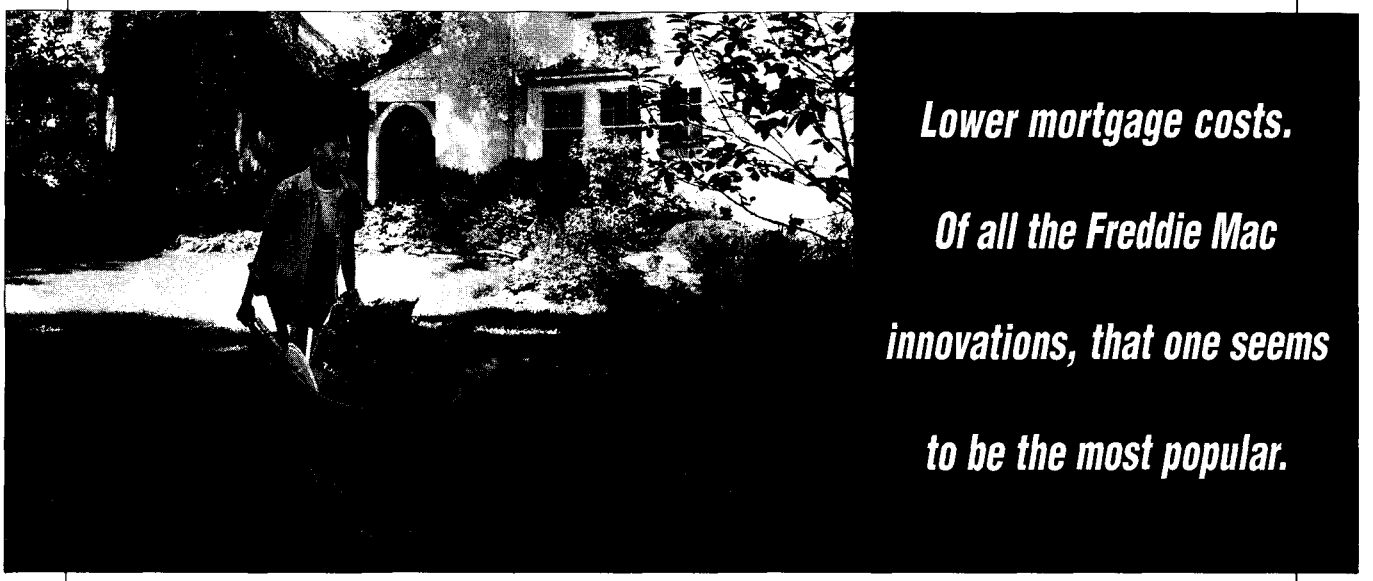

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The Surprisingly Good Guys List, II

Last week on this page, we launched The Surprisingly Good Guys List™ —as a way to recognize people we assumed would be chattering asses but who have turned out not to be. The response to our invitation for nominations from readers was overwhelming. Every single one of you demanded to know how **CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS** got left off the list.

Well, call us pedantic, but we can't say Hitch has surprised us. He was already a member in good standing of our secret Good Guys List, a status he achieved during the impeachment struggle of 1998-99. We expected excellence from him, and he has delivered.

Still, you're right. Hitchens has been heroically mucking out the Augean Stables of leftdom and deserves recognition. Our favorite paragraph was this bracing sermon to his readers at the *Nation* two weeks ago: "The bombers of Manhattan represent fascism with an Islamic face, and there's no point in any euphemism about it. . . . Indiscriminate murder is not a judgment, even obliquely, on the victims or their way of life, or ours. Any decent and concerned reader of this magazine could have been on one of those planes, or in one of those buildings—yes, even in the Pentagon."

Now, on to new business. A reader at Princeton writes to nominate Bill Clinton's favorite historian, **SEAN WILENTZ**, who "spoke out strongly in support of military action against terrorism at a rally organized by the Princeton Committee Against Terrorism—the student group opposing campus anti-Americanism at Princeton." We were skeptical, but the *Daily Princetonian* report is persuasive. Wilentz mocked root-causes thinking, pointing out that, based on the biographies of the September 11 killers, this would mean terrorism is caused by "money, education and privilege."

"To say that poverty explains terror," Wilentz continued, "is to slander those caught in poverty who choose to lead worthy lives. [Terrorists] are not the oppressed, but they are parasites on oppression." Wilentz's bracing conclusion: "Our opponents must be crushed, if not eliminated."

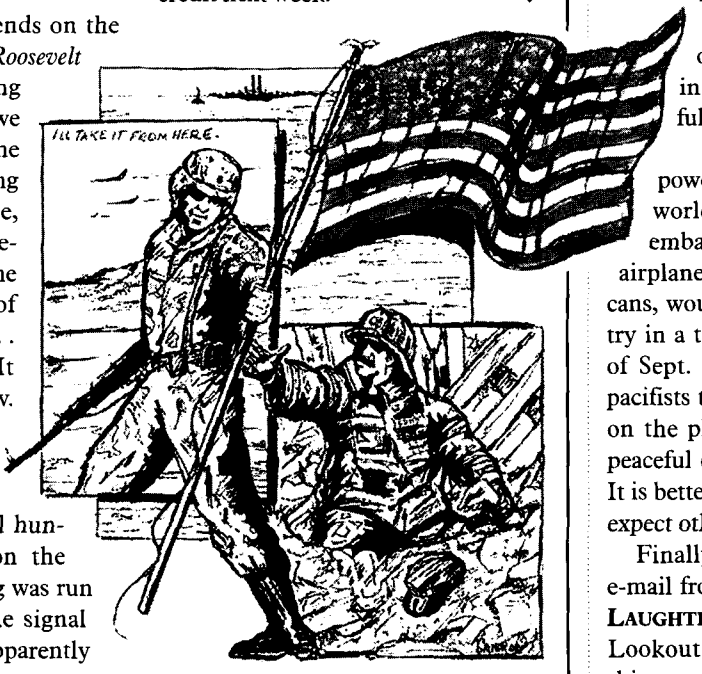
There were multiple nominations for **SCOTT SIMON**, the "archetypical NPR guy," as one reader put it, whose October 11 piece for the *Wall Street Journal* "should earn him a permanent reprieve, and perhaps a full pardon. Okay, no full pardon till he kicks Dan Schorr off the show." Here's Simon's peroration: "Those of us who have been pacifists must admit that it has been our blessing to live in a nation in which other citizens have been willing to risk their lives to defend our dissent. The war against terrorism does not shove American power into places where it has no place. It calls on America's military strength in a global crisis in which peaceful solutions are not apparent.

"Only American (and British) power can stop more killing in the world's skyscrapers, pizza parlors, embassies, bus stations, ships, and airplanes. Pacifists, like most Americans, would like to change their country in a thousand ways. And the blasts of Sept. 11 should remind American pacifists that they live in that one place on the planet where change—in fact, peaceful change—seems most possible. It is better to sacrifice our ideals than to expect others to die for them."

Finally, a reader forwards a long e-mail from Berkeley feminist **TRISTIN LAUGHTER**, publicist for the punk label Lookout Records, noting, "it seems things are even changing in Berkeley":

"I'll Take It From Here"

THE SCRAPBOOK's friends on the USS *Theodore Roosevelt* e-mailed us the drawing reproduced here, which we found oddly affecting. The cartoon has added meaning for the *Roosevelt*, because, as our correspondent reports, "The flag seen in the now famous picture of New York firefighters . . . was given to our ship. It has been signed by Gov. Pataki and Mayor Giuliani and stamped by Fire Station #1 in Manhattan. After several hundred people gathered on the flight deck below, the flag was run up the yardarm from the signal bridge." The drawing, apparently by a soldier, is making the rounds via e-mail. If anyone knows the provenance, let us know and we'll give full credit next week. ♦



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"Dear Colleagues and Friends," writes Laughter. "I have been thinking a lot about the political situation that we find ourselves in, and more precisely, that I find myself in, following the events of Sept. 11. The Left does not speak for me on this issue. I find Michael Moore, Ralph Nader, Noam Chomsky, Katha Pollitt, Susan Sontag et al's attempts to blame the U.S. for this mass murder ideologically weak and morally absurd. I have never felt more clearly my alienation from political movements in this country than I do now. To analyze the causation of the terrorists' actions is to accept their violence as a legitimate political expression. I do not. I feel the Left grasping at the idea of anti-Americanism which is its only core now that Marxism has been discredited by history. But this anti-Americanism is not an appropriate reaction to the murder of 6,400 Americans on Sept. 11. I am also not into wrapping a stars and stripes bandana around my head Willie Nelson style and honking in unison with 10,000 Durangos while the Lynard Skynard/W. remix plays from my radio. I am sad, and I am lost. I do not understand this cruel and chaotic side of the human experience.

"My mother and father were anti-Vietnam War activists, and I grew up with a deeply ambivalent vision of the U.S.'s role in the world. Through most of my lifetime, I have adopted a profoundly isolationist philosophy on geopolitical matters, and called it pacifism. I believed that the U.S. was the new evil empire, and could not support military action under any circumstances, because I believed that the only political situation which truly motivated the U.S. was economic interests. 'No Blood for Oil' I chanted in DC in 91, and I believed it. . . .

"Now I know, in a visceral, human way, that the United States has enemies in the global arena, enemies capable of a brutality and a barbarism which marks their depravity. If being an American Leftist today means defending that, then I can't be a Leftist."

As before, send your candidates for future editions of the list, along with the work that qualifies them, to *Scrapbook@weeklystandard.com.* ♦

Flags for Miss Pollitt Update

Three weeks ago we invited readers to donate flags to *Nation* columnist Katha Pollitt's 13-year-old daughter, who had been told by her anti-flag mother to buy the Stars and Stripes "with her own money and fly it out her bedroom window, because that's hers, but the living room is off-limits."

We're pleased to report that some of you, at any rate, answered the call. Here's an exchange between Pollitt and host Jack Beatty from an Oct. 16 broadcast on WBUR Boston (NPR):

POLLITT: "THE WEEKLY STANDARD had a sort of 'Send a Flag to Miss Pollitt' [campaign]."

BEATTY: "Have you gotten any flags?"

POLLITT: "I got a few."

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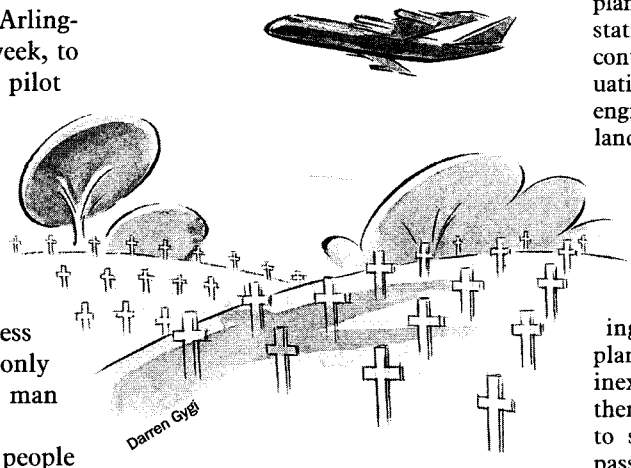
Casual

Flyover Country

In the days after September 11, those of us living along the flight path for Reagan National Airport couldn't help noticing the preternatural quiet as civilian air traffic was grounded. That eerie calm wouldn't last long. It was replaced by the deep-throated exhaust notes of F-16s, which have been patrolling the airspace over the nation's capital ever since—a sound that calms some and puts others on edge. Understandably, then, when the Air Force decided to send a low-flying B-52 bomber over Arlington National Cemetery last week, to pay final respects to a fallen pilot before his burial, care was taken to reassure Arlingtonians in advance that the eight-engined behemoth flying 1,000 feet overhead would be there for purely ceremonial purposes. A number of stories were written in the local press publicizing the rare flyover (only the third by a B-52) and the man who would be honored by it.

That is how thousands of people came to know the remarkable story of Robert J. Hymel, a retired B-52 pilot who was killed at his Pentagon desk on September 11 and laid to rest on October 13 after a last dip of the wings from his fellow pilots. And that is how many of those same people, though they didn't know Lt. Col. Hymel, nonetheless ended up crowding the roads and grounds in the vicinity of Arlington National Cemetery on a Saturday afternoon—there to pay homage to the man and to the B-52. And there also, I suspect, to participate vicariously in the B-52 runs over Afghanistan. Which probably explains why, when the plane finally appeared, magnificent and deadly looking with its smoky contrail, not a few of us wished it had flown even lower and louder and slower, and been altogether more menacing than it was.

The bomber rapidly receded from our view. Not so, the story of Hymel's bravery. He was the co-pilot of a B-52 flying a mission over North Vietnam on December 26, 1972. The plane was hit by a missile over Hanoi, his wife, Beatriz "Pat" Hymel, explained to a *Washington Post* reporter, and limped back to its base in Thailand, where it crash-landed. "The crew had elected not to bail out," Mrs. Hymel told the *Post*, "because it had lost contact with the plane's wounded gunner. When the plane crashed, the gunner managed to get out and survived." Hymel himself was dragged badly injured from the burning plane. The other three crew members died in the crash.



This story—of a flight crew that risked death rather than abandon a wounded comrade—is reminiscent of the moving story told by Ronald Reagan at a 1983 ceremony honoring recipients of the Congressional Medal of Honor. President Reagan recalled having read a citation honoring a B-17 commander, who rather than bail out and leave behind a wounded gunner, sat "down on the floor. He took the boy's hand and said, 'Never mind, son. We'll ride it down together.' Congressional Medal of Honor, posthumously awarded."

Reagan was often ridiculed for having confused real life with a World War II movie, *Wing and a Prayer*. Except that the incident he described bears less resemblance to that movie than it does to the true story of an Aurora, Illinois, B-17 crew member, who in 1944 did receive the Medal of Honor, posthumously awarded. Here is part of the official citation for Second Lt. Walter E. Truemper:

> The aircraft on which 2nd Lt. Truemper was serving as navigator was attacked by a squadron of enemy fighters with the result that the co-pilot was killed outright, the pilot wounded and rendered unconscious, the radio operator wounded and the plane severely damaged. Nevertheless, 2nd Lt. Truemper and other members of the crew managed to right the plane and fly it back to their home station, where they contacted the control tower and reported the situation. 2nd Lt. Truemper and the engineer volunteered to attempt to land the plane. Other members of the crew were ordered to jump, leaving 2nd Lt. Truemper and the engineer aboard. After observing the distressed aircraft from another plane, 2nd Lt. Truemper's commanding officer decided the damaged plane could not be landed by the inexperienced crew and ordered them to abandon it and parachute to safety. Demonstrating unsurpassed courage and heroism, 2nd Lt. Truemper and the engineer replied that the pilot was still alive but could not be moved and that they would not desert him. They were then told to attempt a landing. After two unsuccessful efforts their plane crashed into an open field in a third attempt to land. 2nd Lt. Truemper, the engineer and the wounded pilot were killed.

The remarkable thing about the bravery of a Lt. Truemper or a Lt. Col. Hymel is not how rare it is, but how much of it there turns out to be, once you start looking for it. We shall all, I think, need to be a bit more brave in the years ahead. But this can be learned. Just as some of us are now learning to love the sound of F-16s in the night sky.

Richard Starr

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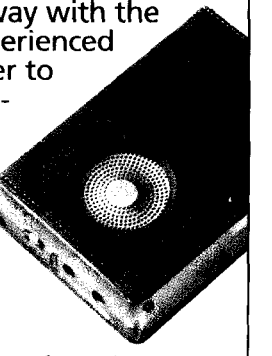

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A Case Against Empire

Max Boot marshals the history of European colonialism less to prove the case for American empire than out of his own inability to learn from that history ("The Case for American Empire," Oct. 15). He simply refuses to see that not everyone in the world is, deep down, a bourgeois Westerner to-be. No empire in the world has ever effected the kind of sweeping reform Boot envisages, though many have bled themselves trying.

As Boot notes, generations of British soldiers campaigned through the very regions we must now contest in order to fight this war against terrorism. And although he is heartened by the litany of obscure commanders forced to put down one colonial massacre after another, Boot misses what was the inevitable result of so much sweat and blood: the British, "bled dry" by the First World War, a war in large part the result of the imperial drive, "finally left the Afghans to their own devices."

The end result is even more dismaying when we consider that the British set out from the very beginning to establish permanent empires. Again, as Boot notes, confident Englishmen in pith hats considered it both their destiny and duty to preside over the savage peoples of the earth. Today, the egalitarian temperament precludes any European nation from confidently administering another ethnic people, whether "for the good of the natives" or not. Consider the recent example in South Africa, where the governing body had not only Western ideals at stake, but the safety of their homes and families. Any such course will be guilt-ridden and half-hearted, and thus doomed to failure.

Moreover, empires of the past had concrete incentives attached to their efforts in the form of raw materials. Indeed, this was always the implicit tradeoff: Bind your sons to exile to exploit the natural resources of the Third World. In contrast, we are now to take up the cause of empire for abstractions like freedom, because we have big hearts.

Boot himself demonstrates the inability to wrestle with the problems of the Muslim world in his analysis of past U.S. policy. In writing "America has earned opprobrium in the Arab world for its realpolitik backing of repressive dictators like Hosni Mubarak and the Saudi royal family," we see the same blind egalitarianism that would hamper any attempt at empire. It may be consoling to think that deep down nations like Afghanistan and Iraq are really peopled by a liberal bourgeoisie, but such an account ignores the fact that men such as Osama bin Laden are not angered because of repressive rulers such as King Fahd; they are angered because they want even more oppressive rulers like the ayatollah.

With prosperity and power comes responsibility. Let us now take up our responsibility to reassess American interests around the world so that we might pass on both prosperity and power to posterity, rather than exhausting both in a vain attempt to police the world. In the end, America too will find that it must "leave the world to its own devices." We are in need now of more Calvin Coolidges, not Chinese Gordons.

F.C. Kelly
Ann Arbor, MI

Fanaticism in Our Time

The Standard Reader (Oct. 22) refers to the "intellectual vulgarity" of a sentence of mine that is said to have blamed the World Trade Center bombings on "religious belief" and "patriotism." But the words I used were "orthodoxy" and "nationalism." Orthodoxy is not the same as belief, and nationalism is not the same as patriotism. A degree of tolerance is compatible with religious belief, but not with orthodoxy. A willingness to admit that one's country may be wrong is compatible with patriotism, but not with nationalism.

George Orwell worked out the latter distinction in his essay "Notes on Nationalism," and I agree with his definition of nationalism: "the habit of identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit, placing it beyond good and evil and recognising no other duty than that of advancing its interests." This applies to the admirers of any country or the adherents of any cause that makes exclusive demands on conscience. Nationalism, Orwell concluded, is "power hunger tempered by self-deception."

I think the suicide bombers of Sept. 11 were fanatics of a religious orthodoxy that dreams today of purifying the Arab world. I also think that acts of terror may be expected from any people who believe themselves sanctified by a cause that has the power to absolve them from evil. Does The Standard Reader disagree? If The Standard Reader thinks there is a nation or creed whose members are immune to the effects of power hunger tempered by self-deception, would it please say plainly who or what this is?

David Bromwich
North Haven, CT

Muslim Moderates

Stephen Schwartz gets it all right in "The Varieties of Muslim Experience" (Oct. 15). It is clear that the American public, the media, and officialdom have a long way to go on the learning curve about Islam and the Muslim world. To help them along, I would add to the White House guest list Sheikh Prof. Abdul Hadi Palazzi, an Italian Muslim scholar who, like Sheikh Hisham Kabbani, has been fighting against Islamic fundamentalism and promoting interfaith dialogue. Sheikh Palazzi is secretary general of the Italian Muslim Association, director of the Cultural Institute of the Italian Islamic Community, and Muslim co-chairman of the Islam-Israel Fellowship of the Root and Branch Asso-

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ciation. This outspoken imam maintains that the Koran supports the Jewish right to the land of Israel, as well as sovereignty over Jerusalem. Furthermore, he accuses pro-terror, anti-American Yasser Arafat and his Palestinian Authority of indoctrinating children to become suicide bombers. Pretty powerful stuff.

Sheikh Kabbani remarked that the extremists have succeeded in "hijacking the mike." It is time to end the free ride for these radical Islamists and their apologists who claim to be the legitimate voice of Islam. Courageous Muslim clerics like Palazzi and Kabbani should be given the podium whenever possible, to inform and to encourage moderate, free-thinking Muslims to speak out against the fanatic Islamism of Osama bin Laden.

RONNI GORDON STILLMAN
Associate scholar, Middle East Forum
Philadelphia, PA

ENOUGH SAID

I ENJOYED STANLEY KURTZ'S "Edward Said, Imperialist" (Oct. 8). It's easy to like an article that beats up on Said.

But is Said's work not a bit dated? I graduated in 1999, and I would describe my time on campus as the beginning or middle of a backlash against his brand of polemical scholarship. Not to conflate all of these things, but postmodernism, deconstruction, post-colonial theory, and their spawn did not seem very original (or even fashionable) to the majority of humanities and social science students. If anything, most of the social sciences I studied were moving full force ahead toward empiricism.

Wouldn't you say that Said peaked in the 1980s and has been losing relevance since then? He's still worth criticizing. I'm just not sure it's accurate to ascribe such a high level of influence to him.

DAVID WHELAN
Astoria, NY

WHILE WHAT STANLEY KURTZ reports of Edward Said's ideologies and self-corrective political meandering may be true, it appears that Kurtz denies the terrorists of Sept. 11 any ground or reason for their actions.

While I in no way condone the acts of violence committed against the United States on that day, I have yet to hear anyone in our media pay any respect to the politics that led the terrorists to carry out these acts. Thousands of citizens from around the globe died needlessly on that day as a result of the U.S. government's lack of global support for human rights.

What wars it has not started to promote its capitalist efforts abroad, it certainly aids with the distribution of arms and monies. Subsequently, hundreds and thousands of lives have been and will continue to be taken.

Most of these lives are those of the innocents caught in the crossfire, indigenous peoples lacking the resources to put up a fight. Thousands flee, as we have seen both in Palestine and most recently in Afghanistan. Those who cannot flee resist as well as they can.

Bush senior's New World Order seems to be manifest in the one power that can make a real difference in resolving human rights issues. Instead, that power continues to be abused in a new kind of imperialism, albeit one so woven into the global economy with its interests and favor-making and taking, that it appears mostly seamless and invisible.

RAYMOND PRUCHER
Medford, NY

STANLEY KURTZ RESPONDS: Edward Said is still an enormously influential figure, although as David Whelan points out, the rise of rational choice theory and other empiricist methodologies provides a refuge of sorts for those disenchanted with postmodernism. Unfortunately, those who inhabit the intellectual middle-ground between empiricism and postmodernism have been squeezed nearly out of existence.

Students of world cultures who favor traditional, qualitative approaches to the humanities or social sciences, be they classic liberals or neoconservatives, have been pushed out of the academy by the postmodernists, post-colonialists, deconstructionists, etc. To banish the old guard, the post-colonialists used a technique of guilt-by-association that would have filled Joseph McCarthy with envy. Professors whose scrupulous studies expressed utmost respect for non-Western societies were equated with the worst exemplars of colonial bigotry, simply because they, like the colonialists, saw differences between Western and non-Western cultures. In lieu of a more thoughtful or accurate account of the societies in question, the post-colonialists offered only a critique of the Western scholarly psyche—of its alleged need to externalize its unacceptable impulses by constructing a lurid image of "the Other."

After decades of this sort of collective ad hominem attack, a single attempt to examine the motivations of the post-colonialists themselves draws charges of McCarthyism. True to the technique of many of his post-colonialist compatriots, Raymond Prucher's preoccupation with his Western foes appears to have left him little of use to say about those he purports to defend. The terrorists are neither socialists nor supporters of universal human rights. The "ground and reason" for their actions is the dream of a fundamentalist theocracy, a goal for which they have proven themselves willing to murder without scruple not only thousands of innocent Americans, but such esteemed Arab intellectuals as writer Farag Foda and the Nobel Prize-winning novelist Naguib Mahfouz. The six million Coptic Christians of Egypt live in fear of the fundamentalists, who have already declared their property "forfeit" and available to the (Islamic) faithful. Comparisons to fascism are not inapt.

Maybe that's why Said himself, writing in the *Nation* recently, was forced to deny the terrorists the "ground or reason" for their actions. Instead of honestly describing their ideology, Said dismissed the terrorists as "pathologically motivated—a tiny band of crazed fanatics." That comports neither with Said's own strictures about the study of "the Other" nor with the truth of a movement that has captured the imaginations of a substantial section—but thankfully still a minority—of the Muslim world.

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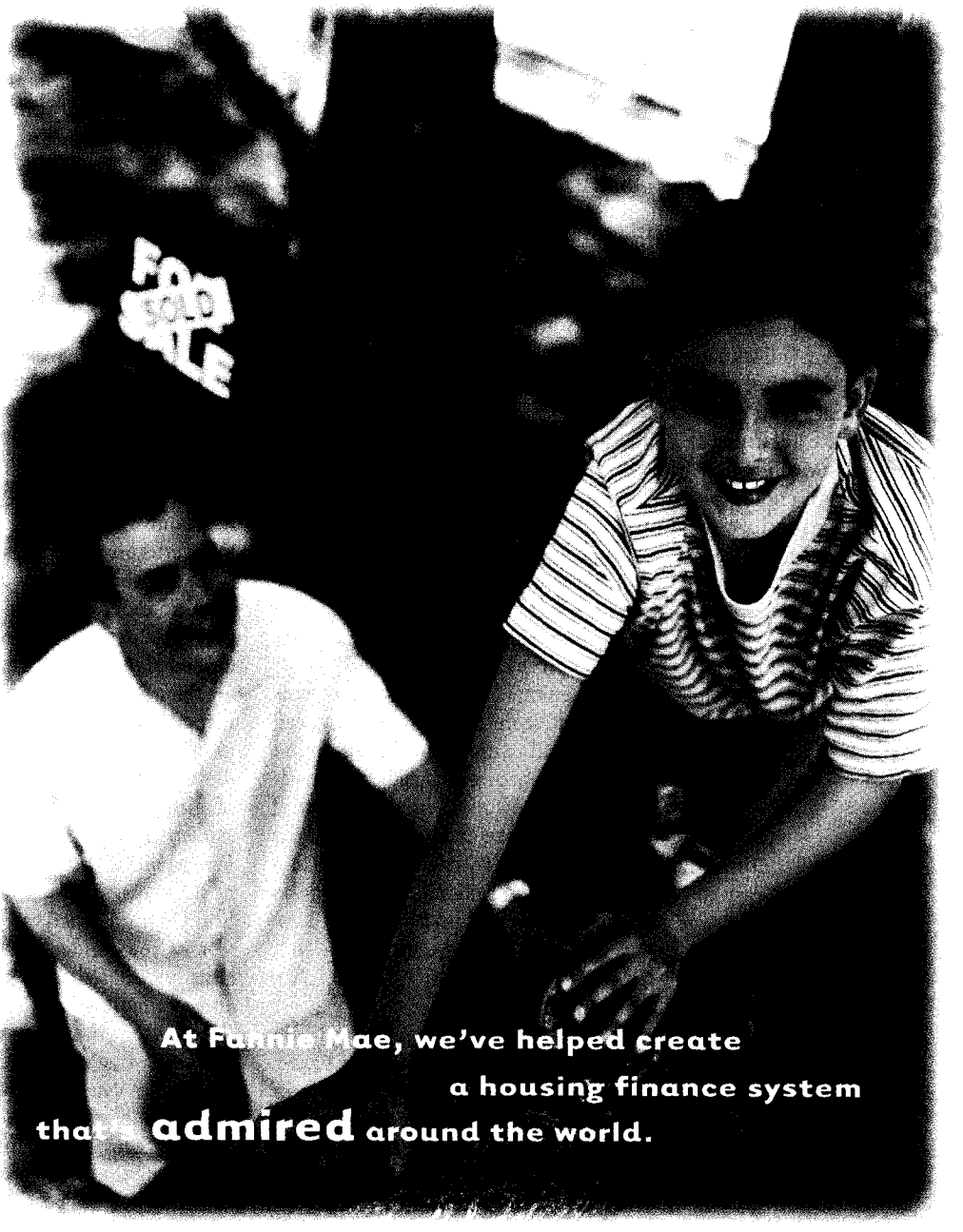

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the weekly Standard

The Gathering Storm

Here's a prediction. When all is said and done, the conflict in Afghanistan will be to the war on terrorism what the North Africa campaign was to World War II: an essential beginning on the path to victory. But compared with what looms over the horizon—a wide-ranging war in locales from Central Asia to the Middle East and, unfortunately, back again to the United States—Afghanistan will prove but an opening battle.

We do not for an instant minimize the difficulties and the dangers to our forces of the current mission in Afghanistan, especially now as the Bush administration wisely moves closer to the more aggressive use of U.S. ground forces. We are glad that President Bush is apparently following the Pentagon's advice to accelerate the military campaign to unseat the Taliban, without waiting for the State Department to name the cabinet and sub-cabinet officials in an as-yet imaginary "post-Taliban government." Nor do we doubt the vital importance of victory in Afghanistan—a victory defined by the unequivocal destruction of the Taliban, al Qaeda, and Osama bin Laden.

But this war will not end in Afghanistan. It is going to spread and engulf a number of countries in conflicts of varying intensity. It could well require the use of American military power in multiple places simultaneously. It is going to resemble the clash of civilizations that everyone has hoped to avoid. And it is going to put enormous and perhaps unbearable strain on parts of an international coalition that today basks in contented consensus.

The signs that we are on the precipice of a much wider conflict are all around us. Although various parts of the government seem bound and determined to deny it, the high-grade anthrax popping up around the country suggests that the same terrorists who destroyed the World Trade Center also acquired a biological weapon too sophisticated to have been concocted in a Trenton basement or an Afghan cave. Richard Butler, the respected onetime head of the U.N. inspection team in Iraq, suggests Iraq may well have been the supplier. If this proves true, the Bush administration will have no choice but to embark on an effort to remove the man who easily qualifies—anthrax or no anthrax—as the world's most dangerous dictator. And with evidence in hand, Bush will be able to persuade Tony Blair and other European allies to support American action against Saddam.

But the Arab world will be a different matter. Last week's assassination of Israeli cabinet minister Rehavam Zeevi by a branch of the Palestine Liberation Organization operating within the sphere of Yasser Arafat's nominal control has (justifiably) turned a vast majority of the Israeli population against any further cooperation with Arafat and his corrupt, terrorist-shielding and terrorist-sponsoring Palestinian Authority. At the State Department they may still have the gall to demand that the Israeli people turn the other cheek. But we wonder how many Americans these days would think a major political and military response inappropriate. In any case, Israelis will no longer be deterred from fighting terrorism against their citizens any less vigorously than the American government responds to terrorism against Americans. The Palestinian Authority has no cleaner hands than the Taliban. Within a week, we may see a partial reoccupation of the West Bank by Israeli troops. We may also see efforts to depose Arafat and his government, and perhaps even to drive them out of the territories.

The Arab reaction is not hard to predict. Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, who was already routinely excoriating the Sharon government, could well decide to abrogate the peace agreement with Israel and join other Arab states in declaring a state of war against Israel. This, in turn, might provide the opportunity Saddam Hussein has been waiting for to "lead" the Arab world in a new war against Israel. What form this war would take is hard to predict. Arab states probably lack the means or the will for a conventional assault. But they do not lack the means, and Saddam in particular does not lack the means, for unconventional strikes involving biological or chemical warfare and other forms of terrorism.

With or without a new Arab-Israeli war, it is possible that the demise of some "moderate" Arab regimes may be just around the corner. Dictatorial governments in Saudi Arabia and Egypt have long been propped up by American aid and support, and have long been channeling popular discontent away from themselves by promoting or tolerating all varieties of anti-Western radicalism—even to the extent, in the case of the Saudis, of supporting the Taliban. American policy should long ago have attempted in the Arab world what it has done successfully elsewhere—to press for democratic change. A great opportunity was missed this past decade, when the end of the Cold War lowered the risk of promoting reform.

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Now it may be too late. Now we may get political change whether we like it or not, and it may be change for the worse. Today and in the months to come, Mubarak, the Saudi royal family, and the king of Jordan will be forced to choose between supporting the American-led war on terrorism and continuing to pamper and feed their increasingly radicalized populations, for some of whom bin Laden is a hero. They will, of course, try not to choose, but the balancing act will prove difficult, and the possibility that one or more of these regimes may collapse is not to be dismissed. The stake the United States has in preventing the rise to power of a radical Islamic regime in any of these countries—which would produce an Afghanistan with money and power—is enormous. American intervention in some form would be a near certainty.

These are just the dangers visible on the horizon today. There will also be what Secretary Rumsfeld astutely calls the "unknown unknowns," events and crises yet unimaginable. We live in times of turmoil and uncertainty. We have been surprised, horribly surprised, once. We will be surprised again. No one can imagine that the latest anthrax attack is the terrorists' last move.

All this calls for seriousness on the part of our government, all parts of our government. More seriousness than we have seen so far. Even if only part of what we have suggested in fact materializes, we will need to beef up our military capacities far beyond what is currently planned. What if we really do have to fight two good-sized wars in two separate theaters? Secretary Rumsfeld has already acknowledged that we don't have nearly what we need.

Seriousness will also require abandoning the State Department's tiptoe through the tulips approach to this war. The wider conflict ahead will have to be fought with or without the approval of every single member state of the United Nations, or every tribe and clan of every ethnically divided nation in Central Asia and the Middle East. Colin Powell's grand coalition will have to give way to a narrower coalition of the willing, the capable, and the committed—committed, that is, to the security of the West.

And at home, we will need to get serious about domestic security, and (unfortunately) about public health, in ways the government has barely begun to do. What we have seen so far on the homefront is moderately incompetent reactions to the new world we live in by public health and law enforcement agencies, unreassuring attempts at reassurance by cabinet officers, and very little recognition of the need to rethink public policies in areas like immigration and counterterrorism. And, of course, we have the ludicrous spectacle of 435 of our elected representatives fleeing anthrax in Washington, presumably to spend their long weekend at home giving speeches to their constituents urging them to be calm and courageous. The war at home is as deserving of serious presidential attention, resolute political leadership, and rigorous executive competence as the war abroad. For in the case of both the war at home and the war abroad, the challenges have just begun. We are not even at the end of the beginning.

—Robert Kagan and William Kristol

Michael Ramirez

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Why Iraq?

If Saddam stays in power, the war on terrorism will have failed. BY GARY SCHMITT

SHORTLY BEFORE getting on a plane to fly to New Jersey from Europe in June 2000, Mohamed Atta, the lead hijacker of the first jet airliner to slam into the World Trade Center and, apparently, the lead conspirator in the attacks of September 11, met with a senior Iraqi intelligence official. This was no chance encounter. Rather than take a flight from Germany, where he had been living, Atta traveled to Prague, almost certainly for the purpose of meeting there with Iraqi intelligence operative Ahmed Samir Ahani.

To understand the significance of this meeting, put yourself in the position of a terrorist. You work within a small cell of operatives; you are continually concerned about security; and you are about to launch a mission designed to bring unprecedented death and destruction to the world's most powerful country. The last thing you would do would be to meet with a foreign official—especially one from a country whose "diplomats" are presumably under close surveillance—unless the meeting were critical to your mission. In light of the otherwise sound "tradecraft" demonstrated by Atta and his confederates in the run-up to September 11, Atta would never have met with an Iraqi intelligence officer unless the Iraqi had been in some way in on the operation.

U.S. intelligence officials have responded to reports of this meeting (and others between Atta and Iraqi intelligence operatives) by denying that they provide a smoking gun tying Iraq to the attacks of September 11. That might be true by the standards of a court of law, but the United States is now engaged not in legal wrangling but in a deadly game of espionage and terrorism. In the world where we now operate, the Prague meeting is about as clear and convincing as evidence gets—especially since our intelligence service apparently has no agents-in-place of its own to tell us what was in fact going on.

This much, however, is beyond dispute: Regardless of the differences between their visions for the Middle East, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden share an overriding objective—to expel the United States from the Middle East. Alliances have been built on less.

Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden share an overriding objective: to expel the United States. Alliances have been built on less.

And there is evidence of an alliance. For example, there are numerous reports that Saddam's henchmen were reaching out to bin Laden as early as the early 1990s, when he was still operating out of Sudan and Iraq was using Khartoum as a base for its own intelligence operations after the Gulf War. We also know that high-ranking Iraqi intelligence officials have made their way to Afghanistan in recent years to meet with bin Laden and the leadership of al Qaeda. There are Iraqi defectors who claim to have seen radical Muslims at a special terrorist training site in Iraq where trainees learn, among other things, to hijack airplanes. None of this should be a surprise. Iraq can offer bin Laden money and technical expertise, and in exchange al Qaeda can provide the manpower to strike at the United States without exposing Baghdad's hand.

Then there is the matter of the refined anthrax that was used against American Media in Florida and against Congress in the letter sent to Senator Tom Daschle's office. (Both attacks, by the way, came from places visited by Mohamed Atta, New Jersey and Florida.) As Ambassador Richard Butler, former head of the United Nations weapons-inspection effort for Iraq after the Gulf War, has said, "I don't believe that the terrorist groups —al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden— could themselves make anthrax" of this quality. Iraq could. Since the defection of Hussein Kamal, Saddam Hussein's son-in-law, in 1995, we have known that Iraq retains a large biological weapons program. We know it has stockpiled mass quantities of anthrax and has worked hard to make it as potent a weapon of terror as possible.

That Iraq would have a hand in the September 11 attacks or the subsequent anthrax onslaught or both should come as no surprise. Since 1991, Saddam has been at war with the United States, and we with him. The Iraqi dictator has made it known time and again that the "mother of all battles" continues. And, like all tyrants of his maniacal stripe, he seeks not simply to hold onto power but to claim a place in history. As a result, Saddam will never relent until he has had his revenge and driven the United States from the Persian Gulf.

Every so often, we are reminded that the war continues, when Iraq attempts to shoot down an American or British fighter flying over the no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq and we in turn bomb an Iraqi air-defense site. If this were all the war amounted to, one could argue that containing Saddam within Iraq sufficed for our strategic purposes. But it's not. In 1993, Saddam ordered his intelligence services to assassinate former President Bush on his trip to

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Kuwait. Moreover, there are good reasons to believe that Iraq had a hand in the first World Trade Center bombing back in 1993. The mastermind behind the plot was linked to Iraq (via a passport and other details), and a second key figure in the bombing fled soon afterwards to Iraq. Although the Clinton administration ignored the links to Iraq and refused to follow them up, Jim Fox, the FBI's head agent in New York at the time, was convinced of Iraq's involvement. And, finally, we know that Saddam's Iraq continues to pursue development of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, and biological—believing that these are the ultimate keys to overcoming America's military dominance in the region.

In short, Iraq is both equipped with dangerous weapons and out to get the United States. If we have learned one lesson from bin Laden, it is that when someone says he is at war with you, and he has the tools to cause you significant harm, it's no longer enough to say you are watching him carefully. The potential costs of leaving Saddam and his regime in place are simply too high.

This conclusion of course is not shared on all sides. Some still insist that we can contain Iraq, just as we contained the Soviet Union for more than four decades. After all, the Soviet Union posed a far greater threat than Iraq today. But this assumes that containment was our preferred strategic policy during the Cold War. It wasn't. Containment was born of necessity—initially, a lack of conventional forces capable of defeating the Red Army in the drawdown following World War II, and subsequently, the threat of the Soviet Union's own nuclear weapons. If we don't have to adopt a policy of containment, we shouldn't.

Moreover, if all we do is contain Saddam's Iraq, it is a virtual certainty that Baghdad will soon have nuclear weapons. (German intelligence believes that day may come within three years.) The question any serious statesman must ask himself is how Saddam, once nuclear-armed, is likely to behave. Will he at that point think we have the stomach to play the game of nuclear deterrence on behalf of our allies in the region, if deterring him could cost us our own massive casualties? It's a risk no one should want to take.

Right now of course the major stumbling block to taking on Iraq in this war, we are told, is the absence of support from our coalition partners for such a course. But that's because they have their doubts, with some justification, that we would be serious about finishing off Saddam. The fact is, the old Persian Gulf coalition began to fall apart around the time the Clinton administration failed to defend the CIA-supported Iraqi opposition from an attack by Saddam's forces in 1996. From that day forward, it was clear that the United States was not really serious, and every state was out for itself. If Washington shows that it intends to get rid of Saddam, the allies who matter will be with us.

There is no question that Iraq has been involved in terrorism in the past; and there is more evidence that it has engaged in terrorism against the United States than many in Washington are willing to admit. But the far more important justification for extending the war on terrorism to toppling Saddam's regime is the terrorist threat he will pose in the near future when his efforts to acquire still deadlier weapons come to fruition. The present war provides President Bush with the opportunity to prevent this from happening. But it is an opportunity that will not last for long. If two or three years from now Saddam is still in power, the war on terrorism will have failed. ♦

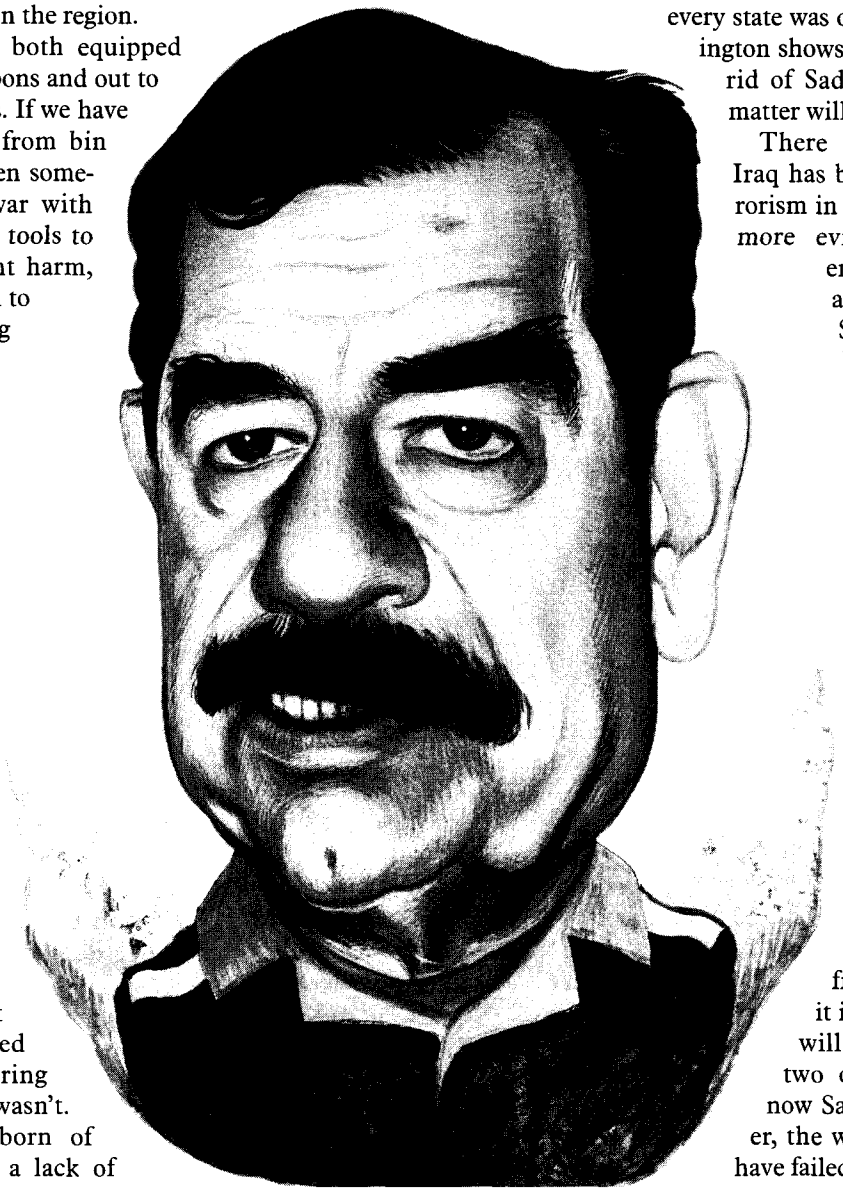

Illustration by Earl Keleny

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The Saudi Connection

Osama bin Laden's a lot closer to the Saudi royal family than you would think. BY DAVID WURMSER

TWO QUESTIONS have been raised about Osama bin Laden. First, if bin Laden opposes the Saudi regime, why has he never struck Saudi targets? Second, if he threatens Saudi Arabia, why has the Saudi government taken the lead in recognizing and funding the Taliban government of Afghanistan, which is entwined with bin Laden's al Qaeda organization? The answer is: The bin Laden problem is deeply embedded both in Saudi religious and dynastic politics and in an effort by Iraq and Syria to shift the balance of power in the Middle East.

To begin to unravel this murky business, it is necessary to go back to the mid 1990s, when a succession struggle was beginning in Saudi Arabia. This struggle pits the octogenarian king, Fahd bin Abdel-Aziz, and his full brothers in the Sudairi branch of the family (especially the defense minister, Prince Sultan) against their half-brother, Crown Prince Abdallah. King Fahd and the Sudairis favor close ties to the United States, while Crown Prince Abdallah prefers Syria and is generally more enamored of pan-Islamic and pan-Arab ideas. All of these contenders are old. Whoever succeeds in securing the crown after Fahd will anoint the next generation of royal heirs and determine Saudi Arabia's future course—either toward the West or toward Syria, Iraq, and others who challenge the position of the United States in the region.

Abdallah is closely allied with the puritanical Wahhabi religious establishment that has underpinned the Saudi government for over a century.

David Wurmser is director of Middle East studies at the American Enterprise Institute.

The Wahhabis are strident and hostile to a continued American presence in the Middle East. They made this explicit in 1990 in a pronouncement known as the Muzkara an-Nasiha, originated by Osama bin Laden and signed by virtually every sheikh in the Wahhabi establishment. It condemned Saudi Arabia's decision to allow U.S. troops into the kingdom for the purpose of resisting Saddam.

Crown Prince Abdallah has long challenged the Sudairi branch by pushing an anti-Western agenda. In mid 1995, numerous Arab newspapers reported that the crown prince was working with Syria and Egypt to sabotage Jordanian-Saudi rapprochement. The same year, the Turkish weekly *Nokta* reported that Abdallah had blocked Turkish-Saudi ties by ordering the execution of some Turks, incarcerated for drug-dealing, after King Fahd had assured Turkish emissaries that they would be spared.

In late 1995, King Fahd became ill and feeble, passing power temporarily to Abdallah. When shortly afterwards Abdallah briefly visited a neighboring state, his Sudairi rival, Prince Sultan, asserted power in Riyadh. Abdallah returned to reclaim his dominance, but to do so he employed his wife's close family ties to the Assad clan and invited Syrian intelligence operatives into the kingdom. Then the problems began.

Abdallah's quest to secure the succession—leading as it did to his strategic relationship with Syrian president Hafez Assad, and their joint willingness to cooperate with Iraq—is essential background to the major terrorist attacks of recent years, including Khobar Towers, the USS *Cole*, and September 11. When Abdallah invited Syrian intelligence into Saudi Arabia, he created an opportunity for Syria to foster a terror network on Saudi soil. Its handiwork surfaced first in a minor attack on an American bus in Jeddah in 1995, then in the major attack on Khobar in June 1996 in which 19 U.S. servicemen died. The *Washington Post* reported that the Khobar bomb had originated in Syrian-controlled Lebanon, and just this month, members of the Syrian-backed Hezbollah were indicted in a U.S. court for this attack.

Sober strategic considerations brought Abdallah, Syria, and Iraq together. The years 1995 and 1996 were watershed years in the Middle East. Before then, hopeful developments (from the American point of view) had seemed afoot in the region. Between 1992 and 1995, Israel had formed a strategic relationship with Turkey; Jordan and Israel had signed a peace treaty with strategic cooperation clauses; Saddam had faced a viable, advancing opposition movement; and Jordan had become the vanguard of an anti-Saddam grouping after the defection in Amman of Saddam's son-in-law, Hussein Kamal. Pro-Western elements of the Saudi royal family pushed to reestablish Jordanian-Saudi ties, solidify Saudi-Turkish ties, and anchor Saudi Arabia in this emerging, powerful, pro-Western regional bloc.

This was a time when the Palestine Liberation Organization averted near collapse only by the generosity of Israel. And the Iranian revolution was floundering. The memory of America's twin victories in the Gulf War and the Cold War was fresh, and Israel's image of invulnerability earned in half a dozen wars still loomed large. Syria, Iraq, and the PLO faced the prospect of a loose-knit pro-American coalition of Turkey, a post-Saddam Iraq, Jordan, Israel, and Saudi Arabia. But tyrants like Saddam and Assad, and tyrannical regimes like Iran's and the PLO's, never accept defeat, which can mean only disgrace or death.

Survival demanded action. It took

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Reuters

King Fahd, seated, and family, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Saudi kingdom, January 1999.

many forms but crystallized when Syria and Iraq turned from enemies to bedfellows against America; when the Palestinian Authority became sufficiently established to host a smorgasbord of terror groups; and when Abdallah invited Syria into the kingdom. The bin Laden network developed inside this Wahhabi/Abdallah-Syria-Iraq-PLO strategic bloc and became its terrorist skeleton, unifying hitherto separate, isolated, and strategically uncoordinated groups.

While al Qaeda from the start was rooted in the Wahhabi religious establishment, it sprouted and flourished parasitically wherever Iraqi intelligence felt secure: Sudan, then Yemen and Qatar. Bin Laden himself left Saudi Arabia in 1991 for Sudan, where he lived until his removal, via Yemen and Qatar, to Afghanistan in 1996.

For Syria, the new terrorist supernetwork had the virtue of absorbing and channeling Sunni fundamentalist fervor. Energies that might have been turned against the regime were directed instead against American targets and into Saudi politics. Within the terror network, Shiite and Sunni—who otherwise would never have countenanced working together—could join forces, as could secular Palestinians and Islamic extremists, all the while deflecting their attention from Damascus.

For Iraq, the network offered a way to defeat America. It would be a grave mistake to imagine that Saddam's animus against Saudi Arabia or his secular disposition would prevent him from working with the Wahhabi religious establishment or Abdallah if he found this could advance his designs against King Fahd, the Sudairis, or their American patrons. Sure enough, travelers from Iraq report that Saddam's regime has lately encouraged the rise, in Iraq's northern safe haven, of Salafism, a puritanical sect tied to Wahhabism that hitherto had been alien to Iraq. It is no surprise, then, that one of these Salafi movements inside Iraq, the Jund al-Islami, turns out to be a front for bin Laden.

At its core, al Qaeda is a product of Saudi dynastic politics. Its purpose is to swing Saudi politics toward the Wahhabi establishment and Crown Prince Abdallah, but not necessarily to destroy the royal family, at least not at first. The most virulent of Saudi dissident groups, such as al-Masari's Committee for the Defense of Legal Rights, call for violence, but they pointedly direct their wrath against the Sudairis, the only targets they mention by name. Bin Laden seeks to destroy the Sudairis indirectly, by separating them from America.

In August 2001, King Fahd fired his director of intelligence, Prince Turki al Faisal. It was a blow to bin Laden. The bin Laden and Faisal families have longstanding ties: Osama's father helped install King Faisal, who reigned from 1964 to 1975. Since the mid 1990s, Turki had anchored the Abdallah faction, and under his leadership Saudi intelligence had become difficult to distinguish from al Qaeda. In particular, Saudi intelligence had served as bin Laden's nexus to the Wahhabi network of charities, foundations, and other funding sources.

Here too family ties are important. Thus, Turki's brother heads a key Saudi "philanthropic" organization (originally headed by Osama) that funds the Taliban and al Qaeda, according to the Lebanese weekly *East-West Review*. And the Central Asia operations officer in Saudi intelligence is the brother of bin Laden's chief case officer on Saudi Arabia, according to a former CIA official in Iraq. The same former official also reports that Turki was instrumental in arranging a meeting in Kandahar, Afghanistan, between the head of Iraq's terror network, Faruk Hejazi, and bin Laden in December 1998. More recently, Turki bin Faisal's full

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brother, Saudi foreign minister Saud bin Faisal, unleashed his diplomats to write shrill and caustic attacks on the United States, such as the article a few weeks ago by Saudi Arabia's ambassador in London, Ghazi al Qusaibi, calling President Bush mentally unstable.

But like Frankenstein's monster, bin Laden is becoming a problem for his creators. It is unclear whether Saudi royal factions now control al Qaeda, or bin Laden has become a kingmaker—or aspiring king. Many young princes who face bleak prospects in a gilded, top-heavy royal structure are enamored of bin Laden. This is true even of some Sudairis. Indeed, bin Laden's lieutenants, far from hailing from the margins of society, are products of its elite, with whom they maintain relations. The mastermind of Arab terrorism in the 1980s and '90s, Imad Mughniyeh, a godfather-like figure with links to the PLO, Hezbollah, and al Qaeda, comes from an illustrious family. His father was a cleric renowned among Shiites. And bin Laden's second in command, the Egyptian al-Zawahiri, is the grandson of the head of al-Azhar mosque in Egypt. Syria too, meanwhile, may be feeling the pressure of bin Laden's growing power. Damascus recently had to put down a Wahhabi-inspired revolt in Lebanon's Akkar mountains led by bin Laden associate Bassam Kanj.

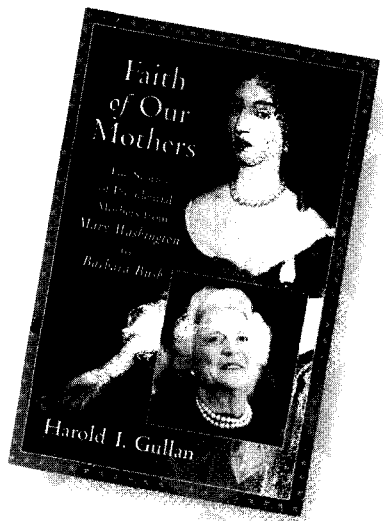
It is impossible to avoid concluding, then, that the bin Laden phenomenon is about politics and conflicts within and among states. Some states in the region—such as Jordan and Kuwait—can truthfully deny employing and abetting terror. But many Arab states refuse to consent to America's expanding the war beyond Afghanistan because they know the trail of terror will eventually lead to them. They have trafficked in terror, believing they could harness it and use it to their advantage—none more than Saudi Arabia. This is why the Saudis blocked the American investigation into the Khobar attack, never investigated the December 2000 hijacking of a plane from Jeddah to Baghdad by two men from Abdallah's security forces, and now, according to press reports, lag in providing access to possible culprits and relevant documents.

Bin Laden emerged from a dangerous strategic shift underway since 1995 that was driven by dynastic rivalries. Now, al Qaeda must be dealt with not only in Afghanistan, but also at its source—in the strategic triangle of Syria, Iraq, and the Wahhabi/Abdallah alliance whose interests it serves and whose structures and politics brought it to life. To fail to strike at the roots of al Qaeda will only lengthen the war and make it more deadly. ♦

Faith *of* Our Mothers

The Stories of Presidential Mothers from *Mary Washington* to *Barbara Bush*

Harold I. Gullan



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Why Does Tenet Have Tenure?

Clinton's CIA chief is alive and well as a Bushie.

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

LESS THAN TWO WEEKS after what many consider the worst intelligence failure in U.S. history, George W. Bush went to CIA headquarters to give George Tenet a hug. In case anyone missed the message of the trip, the president was explicit.

"George and I have been spending a lot of quality time together," he said at the photo-op. "There's a reason. I've got a lot of confidence in him, and I've got a lot of confidence in the CIA."

Though Bush's opinion matters more than anyone else's, it is not unique. Florida Republican Porter Goss, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, and his Senate counterpart Bob Graham, a Democrat also from Florida, have both publicly supported Tenet.

This may seem strange. Many Americans who have never given more than five minutes' thought to the CIA and its mission are wondering what is going on. After all, the agency, established in 1947, exists largely to prevent national security disasters. The nature of the threat has changed—from communism to terrorism—and the post-Cold War years have brought something of an identity crisis to the CIA, but its mission is still to provide intelligence and strengthen national security. And it failed. So why does George Tenet get praised by the president and still have a job?

There are several reasons, notable among them Tenet's good relations with Congress, the difficulty in assigning blame for the multiple failures that permitted the September 11 attacks, and Tenet's relationship with Bush's father. All of them relate to Tenet's career in intelligence.

President Clinton nominated Tenet to run the CIA and the intelligence community in the spring of 1997. Clinton's first choice, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, had sparked a fierce battle in the Senate and eventually had withdrawn from consideration. Tenet presented no such problems. He had worked in the Senate for nearly a decade before taking a top intelligence position at the White House in Clinton's first term. And at the time he was nominated, Tenet had been serving as acting director since the departure of John Deutch at the end of 1996.

When Deutch left, the agency had been through four directors in five years. Deutch never wanted to run the CIA, and many inside and outside the agency viewed him as aloof and ineffective. Morale was at an all-time low.

Tenet went to the CIA intent on changing that, and by most accounts he did. "George was probably the right person at that time," says Vincent Cannistraro, former counterterrorism chief at the CIA. "He knew how to get the best out of people."

He made a point of being accessible and approachable. He talked to people walking the halls. He remembered names. He showed up at retirement parties for even mid-level CIA employees. "He'd just walk into the cafeteria and say, 'Hey, do you mind if I join you for lunch?'" says a CIA analyst. "Is that important? I'd say it is."

CIA sources describe Tenet as generally conservative, a manager who listens to his subordinates. "Let me give you an example," says a current CIA official, emphasizing that it is only hypothetical. "Let's say we want to put some bugs in computers headed to a weapons facility in North Korea. The computers are coming from the Germans, and getting parts from the Italians, and we say to the Italians, let us put in these devices that in six months will screw up arms production at this North Korean facility. The Italians say okay, but the Office of General Counsel [at the CIA] says, 'Wait a minute. How can you be sure these computers are going to a weapons plant and not an airport? How do you know they're not going to cause planes to crash rather than screw up arms production?' The

George Tenet

Illustration by Darren Gygi

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lawyers say, 'I don't think we can do this.' Tenet's attitude is usually, 'Let's not take the chance.'"

Tenet's critics say this risk-aversion and morale-boosting may have come at a cost, or at least outlived their usefulness. "When he came in and tried to restore morale, he embraced the bureaucracy," says Reuel Marc Gerecht, a former CIA analyst specializing in the Middle East (and a frequent contributor to this magazine). "And when a bureaucracy runs away, often the least competent officers rise to the top."

Often, too, inertia takes over. Cannistraro, the former CIA counterterrorism chief, faults the agency "for not penetrating al Qaeda—for not even trying." He calls its response to the terrorist challenge "very passive." "The job is to *deter* terrorism," he says, "not make arrests after the action."

But Tenet's first three years running the agency were satisfactory enough to George W. Bush to make Tenet the only Clinton cabinet member to retain his position in the new administration.

The good relationship with Congress that helped Tenet win his position four years ago is helping protect it now. With a few notable exceptions—Senate Intelligence Committee vice chairman Richard Shelby chief among them—members of Congress continue to express their support for the CIA director. This doesn't happen by accident.

Tenet has been "tremendously effective [at] feeding and caring on Capitol Hill," says Patrick Eddington, a former CIA analyst who works in government relations. Eddington adds, "His congressional affairs shop is very slick, and I admire them for that."

But friendly relations with the Hill wouldn't be enough to save Tenet if all the blame for the recent intelligence failure were properly his. Instead, accountability must be spread among several agencies. "It's the collective responsibility of the government, and maybe even society," says Porter Goss. "It's the border piece, it's the air-safety piece, it's the visa piece, it's the law enforcement piece. Everyone shares that blame."

The FBI, after all, is responsible for domestic counterterrorism measures, and many of the hijackers had lived in the United States for years. The Immigration and Naturalization Service had trouble just putting together a list of the hijackers and their visa dates—and that was after the attacks. Those are big problems that have little to do with the CIA.

Several CIA sources believe another reason Bush still backs his intelligence chief derives from the warm relationship between Tenet and the first President Bush. George H.W. Bush—who was director of central intelligence in Gerald Ford's last year in office—got to know Tenet at the CIA briefings every director holds for all living former CIA heads. The two men hit it off. In 1998, early in Tenet's tenure, CIA headquarters was renamed the George Bush Center for Intelligence. The senior Bush, who had been bitterly disappointed not to retain the intelligence job under Jimmy Carter, has argued for years that continuity is crucial in CIA leadership.

One further factor that now favors Tenet—but could turn against him—is timing: Nearly everyone who has spoken out in favor of Tenet has made this argument. "When you've just taken a torpedo in your ship is not the time to be changing the captain of the ship," said Sen. Graham. This is not the time to second-guess.

Even Goss, who has repeatedly spoken strong words of support for Tenet, offers a telling qualifier. "He's the right person, in the right place, at the right moment," he says. "I'm not speaking to the job he's doing, but the agency needs continuity and he enjoys the president's confidence."

At some point, though, attention will turn to the job Tenet—and the CIA—are doing. And if there aren't then some visible successes, George Tenet's tenure could finally come to an end. ♦

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Earley to Bed?

Democrat Mark Warner threatens the GOP hold on Virginia. BY FRED BARNES

AP / Wide World Photos

Mark Warner, good old boy.

IN 1998, on the day Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska dropped out of the 2000 Democratic presidential race, Steve Jarding got a call from Mark Warner, a wealthy Virginia politician looking to be governor. Jarding, 43, was Kerrey's chief political strategist. Now Warner wanted him, though Jarding is from South Dakota and had never worked in an election in Virginia. The reason for Warner's eagerness: Jarding specializes in helping Democratic candidates win in Republican states. And no state, not even Texas, has trended Republican more sharply in the past decade than Virginia.

The Warner-Jarding alliance has worked wonders. Warner, who ran against GOP senator John Warner in 1996 as a conventional liberal, has undergone a transformation. He's changed his position on guns, taxes, ending parole, welfare reform—and become a moderate. "Have I gotten more conservative as I've grown older?" he said in a televised debate with Mark Earley, his Republican opponent. "Probably. Don't we all?" Warner's shift to the right has put him in a strong position to be elected governor on November 6—this in a state where Republicans currently occupy all statewide offices, control both houses of the legislature, and hold the two U.S. Senate seats and 8 of 11 House seats, and where President Bush won easily last fall.

A money advantage has aided Warner. He's raised $12.4 million, about 30 percent more than Earley, with $800,000 coming from his personal fortune of $200 million (made in the cellular phone industry). But money isn't the decisive factor. Warner's methodical morphing into a different kind of Democrat is. One by one, Warner and Jarding have broken down the obstacles to statewide success for a Democrat. Jarding had done the same in Tom Daschle's first Senate race in South Dakota in 1986 and in Bob Kerrey's two successful Senate campaigns in Nebraska in 1988 and 1994. Virginia, however, has required more effort.

The first problem was rural voters, who'd shifted massively to the GOP. Warner, 46, not only has made 40 visits to southwest Virginia, he's sought to become culturally rural as well. He sponsors a NASCAR driver. He got a country music band to come up with a bluegrass song for his campaign. It won't make the Top 40 charts, but it's effective. *Mark Warner is ready to lead our commonwealth, / He'll work for mountain people and economic health, / Get ready to shout it from the coal mines to the hills, / Here comes Mark Warner, the hero of the hills.*

More important, Warner has courted the National Rifle Association, normally a no-no for Democrats. "I believe strongly in Second Amendment rights," he says. And he wants to expand Project Exile, which provides quick prosecution of criminals who use guns and is touted by the NRA as an alternative to gun control. The NRA initially was neutral in the race, which amounted to a victory for Warner. But Earley was seeking a last-minute NRA endorsement.

Next was the business community. Warner picked off a number of normally Republican business leaders and was endorsed by realtors and the Farm Bureau. Business backing, says Jarding, is an important "verifier" that Warner isn't a liberal. He also recruited enough moderate Republicans, including former governor Linwood Holton, to form Virginians for Warner. And he has stayed away from hot-button "locating" issues like abortion rights and gun control. In past gubernatorial races, these issues simply located Democratic candidates in voters' minds as liberals.

Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia says Warner has "run a Cadillac campaign." In a backhanded tribute, a Republican official says Warner "has done a masterful job of fooling people." But the Warner campaign has one drawback: He's not identified with any issue or position. His support is wide but shallow. What most voters know about him is he's a vaguely moderate fellow who passionately wants to be elected to statewide office. The good side of this for Warner is that Earley, the former state attorney general, has had difficulty finding a vulnerability to attack. Earley wasted the summer and didn't find a message until September—after party officials dispatched Chris LaCivita, the political director of the National Senatorial Republican Committee, to run his campaign. The mes-

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sage, it turns out, is a hardy perennial for Republicans: taxes.

In his transportation plan, Warner left an opening. The plan includes $900 million from a sales tax hike. But that increase would occur only if a referendum were passed by voters in northern Virginia, and the tax increase would apply only in that region. Some Republican legislators favor the referendum, but Earley says if elected governor, he'd block it. For his part, Warner says *he* won't raise taxes. But if voters in northern Virginia want to do so, that's a different story. He backs the referendum. "Mark," he told Earley in a TV debate, "trust the voters." Earley's response: "You're not looking for a referendum to raise taxes unless you want to raise taxes."

The trouble with Earley's tax issue is it's negative. Rather than concentrating on a striking new tax cut, as Republican Jim Gilmore did in winning the governor's race in 1997, Earley chiefly warns about a tax increase if his opponent wins. Thus, it may not be a sweeping enough issue to grab voters. Jarding argues it's not even a tax issue. "It's a traffic issue," he says, since the $900 million would go for new roads to ease traffic congestion. Earley, by the way, also advocates trimming the sales tax on food, but he failed to mention it in either of the televised debates with Warner.

With voters distracted by the September 11 attacks and the war on terrorism, turnout is likely to be low. This gives Earley a shot at winning, if he can excite the GOP base. The key is getting President Bush to stump for him. Bush had planned a quick trip across the Potomac River to northern Virginia on September 19, but that was cancelled. "It has to be a series of events across the state and a day that will electrify the Republican base and independents," says Sabato. Given the war, that may be asking for too much of Bush's time. Plus, notes Earley, there's a "security concern." In Virginia, though, the biggest concern among Republicans is that Mark Warner may bring a decade of GOP domination to a halt. ♦

The "Ladenese Epistle"

What you can learn from reading Osama's oeuvre.

BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

WHAT IS THE ROLE and responsibility of Saudi Arabia in financing Osama bin Laden, poster boy for Wahhabism, the extremist Islamic sect that justifies murder?

In some quarters, efforts are emerging to quash discussion of Wahhabism and of the Saudi connection to September 11. The Saudis are unhappy, and U.S. government officials serving in the kingdom are even more unhappy, that the topic has gained attention in the Western media. The Saudis ask for "healing," not investigation; the diplomats call for "trust," rather than inquiry.

A side effect of the expanding Saudi cover-up is the emergence of a classic bit of disinformation: the common wisdom holding that Osama bin Laden has called for the overthrow of the Saudi monarchy, and therefore is "as much a threat to them as to us."

Well, actually, he hasn't, and he isn't. Anyone needing to be disabused of two fantasies—that bin Laden is a serious enemy of the Saudi regime and that Iraq and Saddam Hussein aren't intimate with the Islamofascist terror command—should read bin Laden's own political and pseudo-religious declarations. I call them pseudo-religious because they have no serious Islamic content and bin Laden himself has no significant religious training.

Three main documents of bin Ladenism are available on the Internet. The first of these, the *Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places*, also known as the "Ladenese Epistle," dates from October 1996 and can be read at *www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A4342-2001Sep21.html*.

The "Ladenese Epistle" is the longest of Osama's available statements. It is also the most stuffed with Islamic verbiage, most of it perfunctory and hortatory, as if hastily composed. To read this text, one might think that indeed bin Laden was mainly concerned with rescuing Muslims through holy war. But after a laundry list of geographical citations ranging from Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Philippines intended to portray an Islamic global community everywhere under assault, the author turns to his main obsession: the justification by some Saudi Islamic scholars of the American military presence in Saudi Arabia. He does not at first mention the country, and he seldom takes up any Saudi leader by name. The style is courteous to the Saudi rulers, because bin Laden does not wish to betray his connection with Riyadh, any more than his Saudi friends wish it to be revealed.

Bin Laden's complaints about Saudi Arabia are those of a critic, not a revolutionary enemy. The oil wealth has been concentrated in a single family, the Sauds; he bemoans the resulting inequality but skirts discussion of those responsible. Various other grievances, ranging from the unemployment of overeducated youths to a kind of general malaise, are cited with vague indignation.

Here and elsewhere in bin Laden's writings, one has the sense of someone going out of his way not to say certain things. Those things involve the personalities of the Saudi rulers. Since bin Laden continued to draw on financial resources in the kingdom

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while living in Afghanistan, and was in no physical danger from Saudi hands, he can only be observing a policy of discretion, not expressing fear.

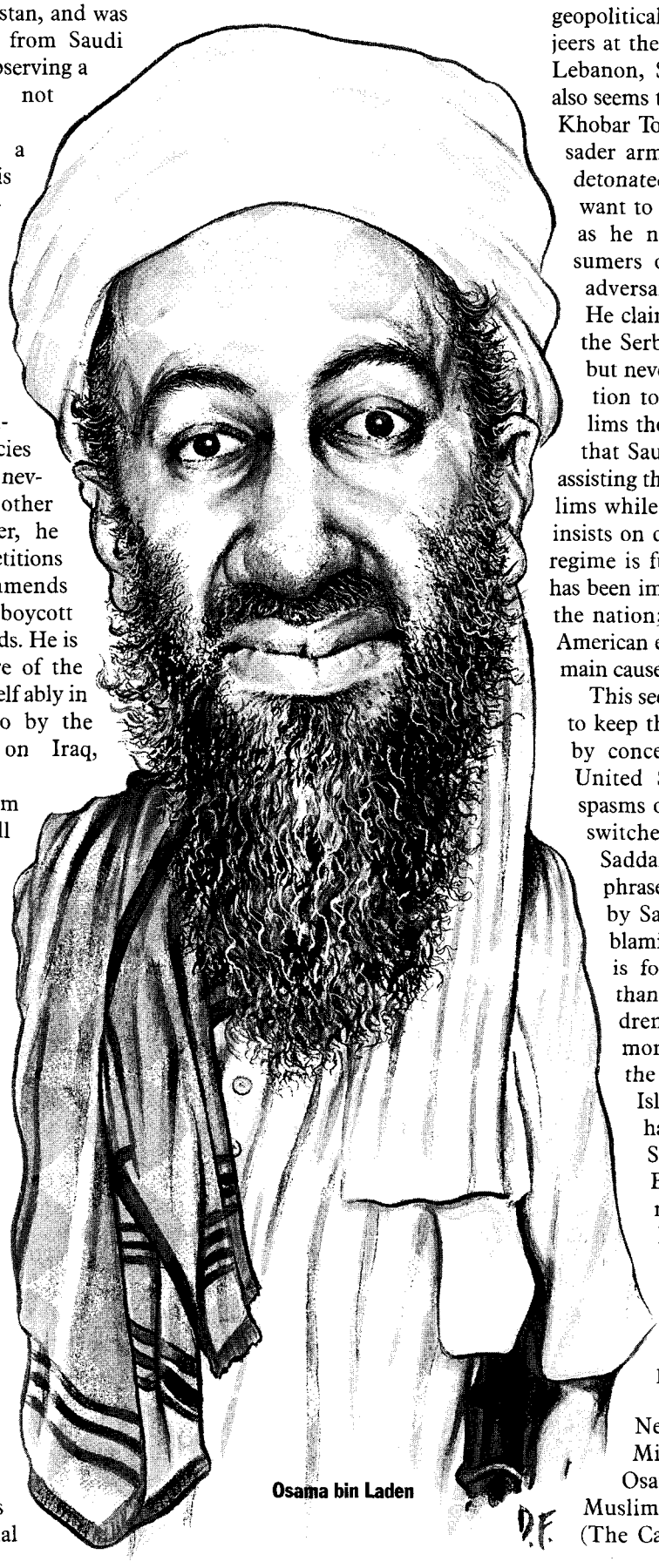
Bin Laden is not a thinker or strategist; he is an opportunistic improviser in the style of Hitler or Stalin. Calling for action by the Saudi populace to expel U.S. troops, he advises murdering Americans. But when he summons Saudi citizens to correct the policies of their government, he never calls for killing or other forms of terror. Rather, he praises the drafting of petitions to the king and recommends that Saudi women boycott American consumer goods. He is aggrieved by the failure of the Saudi army to defend itself ably in the Gulf War, but also by the destruction inflicted on Iraq, which he exaggerates.

So much for the claim of former president Bill Clinton and others that bin Laden is anti-Saddam, or the Iraqis' own disclaimers that they are not Wahhabis (which is true but irrelevant). If an intolerant Wahhabi like bin Laden can embrace the propaganda of leftist Iraq, there is no reason they should not return the favor by cooperating with his terror schemes.

The rest of the "Ladenese Epistle" wanders between exaltation of the religious scholar Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), idol of the Wahhabis, who fought to purge Islam of its spiritual dimension and accused many Muslims of heresy, and superficial geopolitical sloganeering. Bin Laden jeers at the United States for fleeing Lebanon, Somalia, and Yemen. He also seems to take direct credit for the Khobar Towers bombing: "The crusader army became dust when we detonated Khobar." He seems to want to flatter the Japanese (who, as he notes, are the main consumers of Saudi oil) as possible adversaries of the United States. He claims credit for helping fight the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina but never mentions U.S. intervention to stop the killing of Muslims there, or the interesting fact that Saudi Arabia refrained from assisting the embattled Bosnian Muslims while the war was on. Still, he insists on distinctions: "The [Saudi] regime is fully responsible for what has been imposed on the country and the nation; however, the occupying American enemy is the principal and main cause of the situation."

This seems, if anything, a strategy to keep the Saudi regime in power by concentrating attacks on the United States. Still, in the last spasms of this diatribe the author switches back to sympathy for Saddam's Iraq. He recycles the phraseology peddled in the West by Saddam's leftist apologists, blaming America and the Saudis for allegedly killing more than half a million Iraqi children. The overall effect is more that of an article from the *Nation* than that of an Islamic religious text, as if it had been lifted from Susan Sontag or Noam Chomsky. But that is consistent with reports that some of bin Laden's cadres, although exploiting Islam, are former leftist extremists. The Wahhabi ideology has always been about power first.

A similar text is "The New Powder Keg in the Middle East," an interview Osama gave to an Australian Muslim magazine, *Nida'ul Islam* (The Call of Islam), around the



Osama bin Laden

Illustration by Drew Friedman

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same time in 1996. This can be read at *www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/LADIN.htm*. Here again, bin Laden bemoans various aspects of Saudi rule, but in surprisingly circumspect terms. The regime, he says, faces two choices: compliance with the demands of the extremists or an escalation of violence against Americans. In this interview he again wanders afield, deflecting the charge of terrorism with the claim that Iraqi children are victims of American terrorism—again, more a leftist than an Islamic argument—and even with references to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In his declaration on October 7 when the U.S.-led bombing of Afghanistan began, Osama again alluded to Japan and stressed anti-American more than Wahhabi themes.

A final gem is the World Islamic Front statement "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders," issued in February 1998 and also accessible at *www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A4993-2001Sep21.html*. This, like the first polemic here described, is often referred to as a *fatwa*, or religious opinion, by credulous Westerners, but it is signed by five political adventurers: bin Laden; his Egyptian mentor, the monstrous Ayman al-Zawahiri; Ahmad Taha, another Egyptian thug; and two insignificant figures from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Of these unsavory individuals only al-Zawahiri has any religious training to speak of, and the text has no religious content: It is simply another list of anti-American claims, including praise of Iraq.

Bin Laden is obviously a vain figure, intoxicated by his capacity to wreak havoc in the West. But he has no such nihilistic inclinations when it comes to his homeland, Saudi Arabia. His Saudi patrons continue to play a double game with the West, smiling in our faces and begging for healing and trust while sending money to Osama and their unemployable sons to the Muslim world as Wahhabi missionaries before they join Osama. How long will Western political and business leaders continue pretending this is not the reality of the Saudi relationship with the West? ♦

The Iran-Iraq war never paused for Ramadan.

AP / Wide World Photos

Let's Get Ready to Ramadan

There's no reason to stop fighting during the Muslim holy month. BY TOD LINDBERG

ON NOVEMBER 16 begins the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, and some Muslims and Islamophiles at home and abroad are suggesting that its arrival ought to mark a pause in the U.S.-led coalition's war on terror: Finish what needs doing in Afghanistan by then, they say, or risk offending Muslims worldwide.

It would indeed be a fine thing if we could get Osama bin Laden, roll up his al Qaeda network in its entirety, and otherwise successfully complete the prosecution of the war on terror by November 16. Given that this does not seem terribly likely, however, we are left with the question of what, if anything, to do differently come Ramadan.

Contributing editor Tod Lindberg is editor of Policy Review *and a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.*

In the movie version of *The Man Who Would Be King*, intrepid adventurers Sean Connery and Michael Caine gaze in astonishment as two armies poised for battle on the plains of Kafiristan (now the eastern Afghanistan province of Nuristan) suddenly stop and prostrate themselves before a procession of orange-clad monks crossing the battlefield between them. It's a great scene in a great movie. It is also purest make-believe. With regard to the actual recent and historical practice of Islamic countries themselves and Muslims generally, the arrival of Ramadan has not entailed a religious necessity to lay down arms.

The Prophet Muhammad fought during Ramadan to reclaim Mecca in

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624. Anwar Sadat's Egypt launched war on Israel in 1973 during Ramadan. Iran and Iraq, during their brutal eight-year war in the 1980s, fought through the corresponding eight holy months. In 1981, Saddam Hussein's Iraq offered a cease-fire for Ramadan, but the Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran rejected it; both the offer and the rebuff likely had far more to do with the pursuit of military advantage than religious sentiment. In 1995, militant Algerian groups rebelling against the government called for stepped-up attacks during Ramadan; 1,500 people had been killed during the holy month the previous year. In Afghanistan itself during the period of Soviet occupation, resistance forces continued to press their attacks through the holy months.

There is, in fact, no formal Islamic prohibition on fighting during Ramadan. And out of deference to the rigors of armed combat, the requirement of day-long fasting has long been waived for warriors.

The cold calculations of war have not generally been respectful of religious holidays. The attack Sadat launched was, of course, on the Jewish holy day Yom Kippur. During the Kosovo war two years ago, pressure mounted for a halt in the U.S.-led bombing operations on Orthodox Easter Sunday. The pope himself weighed in. Yet the bombs fell as scheduled—as indeed Nazi bombs fell on Belgrade on Easter 1941 and Allied bombs on Easter 1944.

Despite the bloody historical record, the Bush administration is under pressure to do things differently this time. University of Richmond law professor Azizah al-Hibri, who has met with Bush, told *USA Today*, "We need to keep in mind the sensitivities of the Muslim world. If [Bush] fights during Ramadan, that will give bin Laden one more tool to argue to the Muslim world that the United States is disrespectful of their religion. The president has gone to great lengths to say this is not a war on Islam, but a war on terrorism." An anonymous Malaysian official worried to Agence France-Presse that attacks during Ramadan would inflame emotions there, and an unnamed Pakistani official told the *Financial Times*, "If American military operations continue into Ramadan and there are no signs of a new political arrangement in place in Afghanistan, many Muslims who are already protesting against the Americans would protest more." It is quite clear that the Bush administration wants to keep Islamic countries on board the anti-terror coalition and will go to considerable lengths to achieve that end.

Will U.S. deference to Muslim sensibilities lead to an extraordinary Ramadan cease-fire? It shouldn't. In the first place, you don't need an advanced degree from the Army War College to see the danger of giving your enemy a month not just to fast but also to regroup, move freely, rebuild disrupted communications, and plot new violence against you. As for the supposed Muslim backlash, that's a genuine concern, but one must ask: Aren't Muslims who are going to be inflamed by the United States bombing already rather inflamed? How many of the currently uninflamed will wake up November 16 and find themselves for the first time inflamed?

More than that, though, there is a sense in which stopping for Ramadan would send exactly the wrong message to the Islamic world. This *is* a war on terrorism, not on Islam. The targets are the terror networks and their supporters, and they need to be attacked whenever they present themselves. To refrain from doing so during Ramadan would, in effect, Islamicize the conflict, granting terrorists special treatment solely out of deference to their professed Islamic faith. This would only legitimize their claim to be speaking for Islam.

If we don't run into bin Laden until November 16, he should still expect exactly the same treatment he would have received November 15. ♦

Harvard Hates ROTC

But that may be changing.

BY ERIN SHELEY

Cambridge, Mass.

HARVARD SQUARE is looking strange these days. With red, white, and blue fluttering from every street lamp and storefront, the city affectionately known as the "People's Republic of Cambridge" seems to have undergone a complete makeover. In the wake of September 11, this new patriotic sentiment has revived an old debate: whether Harvard University should allow the Reserve Officer Training Corps to return to campus.

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The conflict over ROTC's compatibility with Harvard goes back a generation. Then the issue was Vietnam; now it's gays in the military. A university code prohibits student groups from discriminating on the basis of race, gender, religion, or sexual orientation. This means, for instance, that the university will not recognize single-sex fraternities and sororities; nor, because of the military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy, will it allow the formation of a ROTC unit on campus.

Harvard disbanded its ROTC

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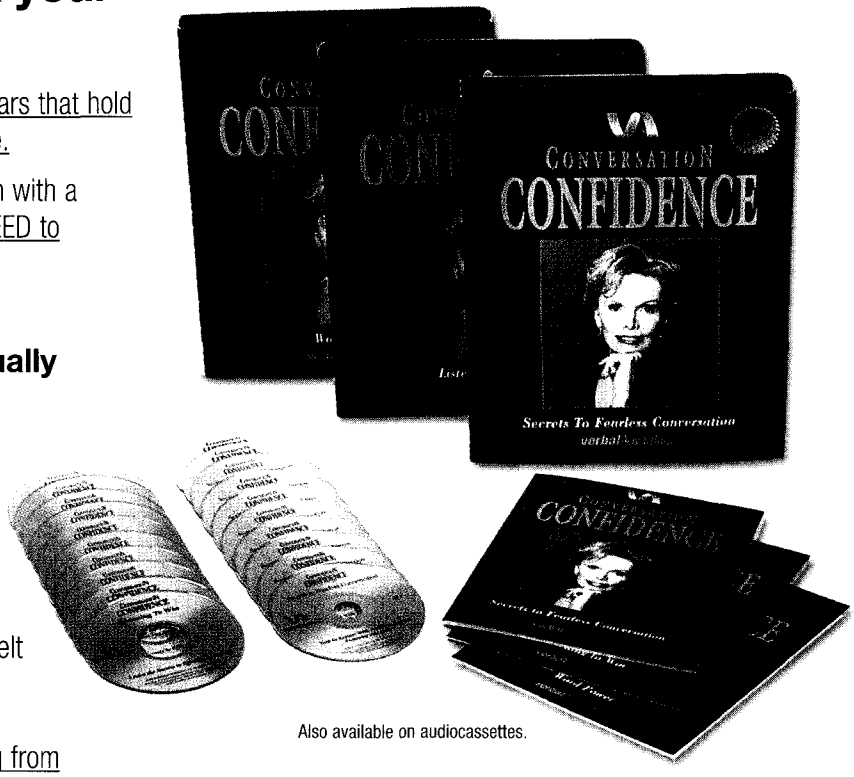

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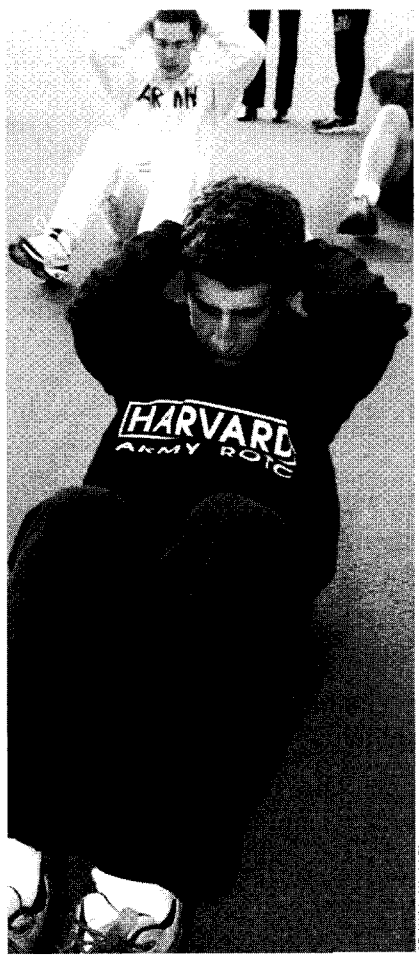
detachment during the Vietnam era, but continued to fund cadets who participated in the program at the nearby Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1989, however, Harvard cadet David E. Carney was expelled from the unit when it became known that he was a homosexual. In response, a student-faculty committee adopted a policy that prohibited Harvard funding of further ROTC activities. In addition, ROTC is prohibited from recruiting at student activities fairs, and cadets may not sit for their senior yearbook portraits in uniform.

While Harvard's policy raises numerous financial and logistics hurdles for ROTC participants—not the least of which is finding transportation to MIT for drills in the early morning hours—many cadets have found the symbolic effects of the university's policy even more harmful. Cadet Lieutenant Colonel Charlie Cromwell, commander of MIT's Paul Revere Battalion, decries "an inherent negative stigma attached to any organization not condoned or supported by the administration." Students, he says, "are left asking why. Why don't they allow kids to participate?"

Still, since September 11 the military has enjoyed a higher profile on campus. The *Harvard Crimson* has run front-page stories about students in the reserves preparing for the possibility of being called up. Newly installed Harvard president Lawrence H. Summers has warned the Undergraduate Council "to be careful about adopting any policy on campus of non-support for those involved in defending the country," and has expressed "pride" in Harvard's cadets.

This changing attitude has encouraged proponents both inside and outside to push for the restoration of a Harvard ROTC program. A group of alumni, including former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger, '38, has organized "Advocates for Harvard ROTC." The group has collected over a thousand signatures of alumni, students, and faculty who support the return of the ROTC to campus. The results are hard to gauge. According to David Clayman, '38, the chairman of the organization, "All we've seen so far is that President Summers feels that it's a noble endeavor." He goes on to emphasize the fact that "the inaccessibility of the armed forces to those who are supposed to be the best and brightest in the country does a disservice to the nation." Clayman notes that a similar effort is underway among Yale alumni, to bring ROTC back to New Haven.



AP/Wide World Photos

Harvard cadets, off campus.

Within the college, as well, supporters of ROTC have sought to reopen the debate. Undergraduate Council member John Bash, '03, has announced his intention to put the issue on the table at a meeting of the Student Affairs Committee of the Council. Says Bash, "We need to recognize that the anti-discrimination policy cannot be strictly adhered to, but [must be] judged on a case by case basis. Why do we recognize the football team or women's basketball team? The need is greater than ever for military leaders with the highest intellectual capabilities, as we are engaging in a war that is more about tactics, intelligence, and strategy than brute man and machine power."

The fact remains that the return of ROTC would require a major revision in university policy. According to Clifford Davidson, '02, founder of BOND, a non-political organization for homosexual students and their supporters, "individual communities should be able to establish their own guiding principles. To make exceptions to this would render the community's principle moot, defeating the purpose of creating a policy (and a community) in the first place. Thus, the only argument to be had is whether or not Harvard should do away with its sexual orientation non-discrimination policy."

The issue of ROTC at Harvard highlights the more general tensions of the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. The argument for ROTC restoration—that the university should provide an opportunity to students who want to serve their country—is not unlike the argument of gays who wish to serve their country as soldiers and complain it is unfair to deny them that opportunity.

But Harvard's hostility to ROTC stems ultimately from a deep ambivalence about the military. ROTC was first disbanded during the turbulence of the '60s—long before the phrase "don't ask, don't tell" had ever been coined. For its restoration to take place, what must be overcome is not just a set of university rules, but a legacy of anti-military sentiment, born in the Vietnam era, that ever since has shaped Harvard's attitude towards its ROTC members.

In other words, the serious struggle of the ROTC restorationists is against a history of entrenched opposition to the military in elite intellectual communities. The flags in Harvard Square suggest that may be changing. ♦

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Be Afraid

Almost as scary as anthrax was last week's display of incompetence in Washington.

By Christopher Caldwell

It was clear even from the polls that something changed during Anthrax Week. When Gallup asked Americans about the most important issues facing the nation, that perennial favorite response from prosperous times—"education!"—registered only 3 percent. AIDS, drugs, civility, and various other concerns of a polity with a lot of time on its hands registered zero. Eighty percent cited issues of security, terrorism, and war. What's more, they voted with their feet, mobbing doctors' offices for prescriptions for the anthrax antidote Cipro and, in the case of the House of Representatives, evacuating the Capitol under duress for the first time since the War of 1812.

The good news is the American people are focused. The bad news is they are panicked. And the even worse news is they're right to be. Panic is seldom a productive response, but even less productive has been the phony bucking-up of those politicians who have split hairs over whether or not to refer to the ongoing biological attack as "terrorism"—the better, one fears, to avoid altering our habits to fight it.

Most obviously out of his depth was the Health and Human Services secretary, Tommy Thompson, whose resignation had been overdue days before. "I don't know" is not in his vocabulary, and there is no politician in more desperate need of the phrase. This is a man who speculated that Florida photo editor Robert Stevens had contracted the anthrax that killed him while fishing in a trout stream. There was one policy on which Thompson was adamant throughout the week: The United States would not break the patent of the German pharmaceutical manufacturer Bayer AG on Cipro, the antibiotic most widely recommended for anthrax. Breaking the patent could bring American stockpiles up to desirable levels within three months; under the Thompson plan, Bayer can work triple shifts to accomplish that goal in just under two years. Now, breaking the patent may be necessary, and it may not be. But the decision ought to be made on the basis of wartime medical necessity, not the confidence of German investors.

One silly idea that should meet its demise after last week is that every changing of daily routines constitutes a "victory for the terrorists." The president had useful business to do in China and Russia, and we assume he was right to head abroad just as the anthrax panic was spreading. But the rationale his staff gave to the *New York Times* was preposterous: "The president, the aides said, sided with those who insisted that he must go through with the trip if he expected the country to take seriously his repeated urging to get on with life as usual." All well and good, as long as we understand that life as usual means wartime life as usual. We're not talking about metaphors any longer: The ultimate "victory for the terrorists" will come if we forget that we are fighting a war.

If the politicians weren't worried, it was partly because they were taking care of themselves in ways they were urging their public not to bother with. A reasonable question is: If we're supposed to be going about our business, why is the vice president in hiding? House minority leader Richard Gephardt explained the evacuation of the Capitol by saying, "We have got hundreds of young people up here, and we don't want them put in harm's way." What young people? His 28-year-old staffers? These are the employees of our elected representatives. Last week, in a Hillary Clinton-esque bit of opinion-manipulation, they became "The Children." (What about *our* children? Joe Sixpack can be forgiven for asking.) After anthrax was discovered in one of his Manhattan offices, New York governor George Pataki refused to be tested because, he said, "I don't think it's necessary." Actually, testing is useful not just diagnostically but epidemiologically, for charting the spread of the disease. It's not necessary *to Pataki* because he's taking some of that understocked Cipro that Americans fear will be all gone by the time they get anthrax.

That's why Tom DeLay was the opposite of reassuring when he said, "The American people need to know that these terrorists are going after specific people. . . . People that are symbols. Somebody in Sugarland, Texas,

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shouldn't worry about anthrax." Understand? You're not important enough for al Qaeda to attack. Americans could be forgiven for concluding from DeLay's rant that they're not important enough for the American government to protect, either. (Presumably, the fault rests with the 5,000 dead in the World Trade Center for choosing to work in a building that was so "symbolic." And presumably those crop-dusters Mohamed Atta sought to rent in Florida were being jiggered to drop anthrax only on famous people.)

The chief falsehood that our leaders were trying to fob off on the American people is that this war doesn't really have a home front. Much of the leadership spent the week desperate to convince Americans there is no significant cell of Islamic terrorists in this country bent on taking American lives—even as it becomes increasingly obvious to the American public that there is. Among the four al Qaeda terrorists sentenced to life in New York last week for the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania was the Lebanese-born Wadih El-Hage. El-Hage is an American citizen. So is Mohamed Abdi, the Somali-born cabdriver in Virginia whose phone number was found in the car of one of the Dulles airport hijackers. At a time when even some American citizens are bent on the country's destruction—*in*side the tent, pissing in—Middle Americans are probably beginning to ask why illegal immigrants about whom they know nothing are still checking the luggage at their local airport.

Should we be grateful that politicians are not exploiting this suspicion with appeals to xenophobia? No. Because politicians are, for their own ends, indulging a considerably more dangerous delusion. Last week, there was wide airing of a bizarre, wishful-thinking canard that the attacks might have been carried out by some crank "hate group" from the Heartland. Unnamed "investigators" told Brian Ross of ABC that the letters that accompanied the anthrax sent to Tom Daschle and Tom Brokaw showed a "command of idiomatic English" that pointed to an American nativist crank. (Applying literary criticism to the attacks allowed Ross and others to ignore the attackers' technological sophistication.) Christopher Dodd agreed. "My gut instinct tells me that these attacks . . . were more a domestic variety," he said. Yeah. Maybe Newt Gingrich did it.

This smiley-face minimizing of germ warfare ties our hands, to little psychological end. There will have to be a side to this war on terrorism that involves deporting suspicious illegals and interdicting them at our borders. And yet every effort to take extraordinary wartime measures has come up against some antiquated, pre-September 11 political interest group. The *New York Times* has reported that, in the wake of the World Trade Center attacks, Senator Dianne Feinstein suggested a six-month moratorium on student visas, which several of the hijackers used to enter the country. In the last decade, 16,000 students from Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, and Syria arrived with such visas. Her measure has thus far been blocked by education lobbies—specifically, graduate schools that treasure foreign students because they pay full tuition.

Another holdover from peacetime is the non-compliance of Saudi Arabia and Egypt with the Advance Passenger Information System (APIS). There are roughly a hundred international airlines that fly into the United States. Ninety-four of them participate in APIS, which involves wiring a manifest to U.S. authorities, once a flight is in the air, so that passengers' names can be checked against various U.S. government watch lists. Saudi Arabia still refuses to participate, and one of its diplomats explains why. "At this time, hundreds of Saudi citizens are being detained and questioned with regard to the hijackings," he says. "A lot of them are innocent people. That number would probably quadruple." So Saudi planes continue to offload their uncheckable passengers day after day, with no complaint from the United States. Wouldn't want to offend our ally, after all.

The lesson of last week should be that the terrorists have the ability, the will, and the chemicals to wage biological war on the United States. The fears of Americans are rational, and they grow more rational the more their politicians pooh-pooh them. But the thing about a terrorist war is that irrational fears are not to be dismissed, either. Our enemies are not planning to wage this war on our timetable. The logistics and aims of the September 11 bombings—and not merely their wanton evil—were unimaginable. So will be the terrorist attacks to come. Much of the go-on-about-your-business talk of the last week has rested implicitly on the assumption that those spreading anthrax will continue to confine their attacks to the U.S. mail. But why would they? Think stadiums and trains and nurseries. Don't think about al Qaeda managing to smuggle a nuclear weapon into a major city. Think about it smuggling such weapons into twenty different cities, and then threatening to detonate them simultaneously. Or, worse, not threatening. Other threats are hardly more comforting for being predictable: To ask whether there will be a smallpox or Ebola outbreak in the United States is to ask only whether the terrorists have access to smallpox or Ebola.

The Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam editorialized in Friday's *New York Times* that pitching in could allow Americans to forge "a better society in a time of

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war." It goes without saying that such a society ought to be "better" not only in its civic involvement but also in its ability actually to get the war *won*. In this light, the most disturbing thing about Anthrax Week is that it showed politicians of both parties to have prior ideological commitments that array them against this effort. Christopher Dodd has gotten way too much mileage out of Kumbaya platitudes about racial tolerance to be able even to process the knowledge that a sophisticated terrorist network is operating in the United States to kill Americans *because they're Americans*. Tommy Thompson is too old to unlearn what he takes to be the invariable truth that the interests of the American people will always be in harmony with those of the shareholders of Bayer AG.

Both are exercising the kind of survival instinct that comes most naturally to them—a political survival instinct. They are wishing their way back into the United States they ruled on September 10, 2001, a country that does not exist any longer, a country where the most successful politicians were those who most persuasively tapped into the American creed, which back then could be summed up as: "Let's hold hands and buy stuff." Last week called into question whether a war can be won with leadership that was elected in a different country. Dodd, Thompson, DeLay, and others are engaging in their own panicky desperation, every bit as risible as that of the Americans they aspire to calm. Americans, meanwhile, are looking for something to do. They understand far better than their politicians that, while a democracy at peace can be manipulated, a democracy at war must be mobilized. They also understand better than their politicians that we're at war in the first place. ♦

All About Anthrax

Everything you didn't want to know . . .

By David Tell

What is anthrax?

Bacillus anthracis is a rod-shaped bacterium that typically appears—when outside a living host—in a dormant state, protected by a hard-shelled spore. Provided it is lodged in rich soil subject to dramatic changes in climate, the organism can and does persist in this form for many decades. As a general matter, anthrax spores germinate to produce multiplying vegetative forms only after infecting a living host. That host is most commonly a herbivore which, grazing in an anthrax-contaminated field, ingests the bacillus along with its feed and is then infected through some preexisting gastrointestinal lesion.

Once inside the body of a cow, for example, anthrax spores are carried to its lymphatics, where they begin to germinate. The first vegetative bacilli entering the cow's blood stream are effectively filtered by the animal's reticuloendothelial system. But even then the bacilli are releasing toxins, which soon overwhelm the poor beast. As the disease approaches its end stage, the number of anthrax bacteria in a host can double in less than two hours, and this chaotic growth eventually produces massive toxemia that destroys the endothelial cell lining of blood vessels. Death comes with what World Health Organization guidelines rather daintily describe as a "characteristic terminal hemorrhage to the exterior."

Recent newspaper coverage has proved similarly squeamish about the grisly reality of a lethal anthrax case, for the same is true in human patients: Uninterrupted by medicine, the disease causes the vascular system to explode, releasing a horrifying quantity of blood through the victim's mouth, nose, and other orifices. From an animal corpse lying in a field, this infected blood then soaks into the soil, where *bacillus anthracis* returns to a sporulated, dormant state—awaiting the next unfortunate herbivore.

Is anthrax as rare as they say?

Not in animals it isn't. Cases of livestock anthrax are reported almost every year throughout the world. Spain, Albania, Italy, and Romania suffer significant outbreaks on a regular basis. Turkey, Greece, and Russia are subject

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to widespread infections. The Middle East and Central Asia comprise an "anthrax belt" in which severe epidemics are commonplace. Chinese livestock are riddled with anthrax in most sections of the country. Australia experienced a major epidemic in early 1997. The disease is endemic in Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, and hyperendemic in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Peru.

Here in the United States, livestock vaccination and antibiotic prophylaxis have become almost routine during the past few decades, and anthrax outbreaks are recorded at nowhere near the levels they were before World War II. But they are not unheard of; Texas has a particular problem, with 56 separate confirmed incidents between 1979 and 1997. And there and elsewhere, ironically, American veterinary medicine's increasing inexperience with the disease may well mean that many outbreaks go undiagnosed—and last long enough to threaten surrounding human populations.

In its September 15, 2000, *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, for example, the Centers for Disease Control described how, two months before, a farmer in Roseau County, Minnesota, had killed, gutted, and skinned a cow that was "unable to rise." A local vet approved the farmer's plan to slaughter the cow for consumption, and the carcass was taken to a custom meat-processing plant. Two weeks later, members of the farmer's family began eating hamburgers and steaks cut from this carcass, and two of them promptly experienced severe gastrointestinal symptoms and/or high fever. Laboratory tests confirmed the presence of anthrax bacilli in the processed meat. The affected family was prescribed heavy doses of precautionary antibiotics and both patients fully recovered.

Has naturally occurring anthrax ever been a significant human health problem?

Yes.

Throughout much of recorded history, anthrax has periodically devastated both rural and urban populations. For instance: The mystery has never been solved definitively, but more than a few medical historians have long believed that the 430-427 B.C. "plague of Athens," a famously gruesome, eyewitness account of which appears in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, was a *bacillus anthracis* pandemic. Certain symptoms Thucydides described—fever, bleeding, and "small pustules and ulcers"—are strikingly consistent with a severe form of cutaneous anthrax infection, in which the bacteria enter the body through abrasions on the skin, which then breaks out into ulcerating lesions and large, scabby "eschars." It is from the color and discomfort of these characteristic eschars, incidentally, that the anthrax bacillus derives its scientific name, after the Greek word (*anthrakis*) for "burning coal."

In the third book of *The Georgics*, his idealization of rustic life in first-century B.C. Rome, the poet Virgil paused for a moment to acknowledge that anthrax epidemics were a downside, choking "the very stalls with carrion-heaps that rot in hideous corruption" and afflicting any man who dared come near an infected animal with "red blisters and an unclean sweat"—until "his noisome limbs . . . no long tarriance made, the fiery curse his tainted frame devoured."

For most of the next two thousand years, anthrax outbreaks swept across huge tracts of land from time to time, killing massive numbers of people in 14th-century Germany and 17th-century Central Europe and Russia, for example. In fact, anthrax remained so central to medical consciousness in the late 19th century that modern microbiology was founded specifically on its study. Anthrax was the first disease for which a microbial etiology was firmly established, by Louis Pasteur in 1876.

Is naturally occurring anthrax a significant human health problem today?

Yes and no.

In certain parts of the world, human cases of cutaneous or inhalational anthrax—nearly all of them resulting from occupational contact with the hides, hair, wool, or bones of infected animals—cannot be called unusual. Peru reports numerous human infections on a more or less annual basis. The infection rate is extraordinarily high in central Spain. Small outbreaks in Russia are common: In a village south of Moscow in 1995, one person died and eight were hospitalized following exposure to diseased cattle, and one year later in a nearby village, a second person died and 23 more were hospitalized. Dozens become ill with anthrax each year in Central Asia and the Middle East. And China reported 1,210 cases of the disease in 1997 alone.

In most of the industrialized West, standard veterinary protocols and immunization programs for agricultural and textile workers have now sharply reduced human exposure to the anthrax bacillus, and case numbers have fallen dramatically. During the first few decades of the 20th century, an average of 130 Americans contracted anthrax each year—and there were a total of 755 such cases from 1944 through 1983. By contrast, over the 18 subsequent years, the CDC had reported only 5 anthrax infections in America until the wave that began last month.

Several important qualifications must be appended to this generally happy story, however. At this point, except for specialists in veterinary colleges, very few practicing physicians or microbiologists in this country have ever

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seen anthrax outside of a textbook. So we must assume that at least some human cases of the disease, even when fatal, occasionally go undiagnosed. Moreover, many other proven or likely anthrax infections, because interrupted by pre-symptomatic antibiotics, do not show up in official tabulations of the disease.

And, most important, recent events make obvious the extent to which past American experience with anthrax understates the threat to human health posed by this naturally occurring bacterium. In its sporulated form, the organism remains ubiquitous all over the world—representing an almost inexhaustible supply for men such as Osama bin Laden who would deliberately employ it to murderous effect.

DELIBERATE, DEADLY ANTHRAX ASSAULTS ARE A BRAND NEW PHENOMENON, RIGHT?

Wrong. To begin with, there is chapter nine of Exodus, in which the Lord inflicts "a very grievous murrain"—unmistakably resembling an anthrax infestation—upon the cattle, horses, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep of Pharaoh's Egypt. This having failed to bring Pharaoh to heel, the Lord then instructs Moses to take "handfuls of ashes of the furnace" and "sprinkle it toward the heaven." These ashes, the Lord declares, "shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt," which dust will this time affect not just the beasts but "shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man."

There is no suggestion of divine intervention in the modern history of anthrax warfare. Germany established a large and ambitious biological weapons program, very much involving anthrax, during World War I. The Germans managed to infect Romanian sheep exports bound for Russia and Argentinian livestock exports intended for a variety of Allied countries in the West. And though it remains unclear whether the plot was successful, German saboteurs working in the United States attempted to infect horses in particular and to contaminate animal feed in general.

Throughout its occupation of Manchuria between 1932 and 1945, imperial Japan maintained an enormous biowarfare facility there, "Unit 731" in the town of Pingfan southeast of Harbin. The *bacillus anthracis* experiments conducted by Japanese scientists on Chinese prisoners held at Unit 731 are notorious war crimes. And the anthrax weapons those experiments helped produce were employed by the Japanese army against Chinese military and civilian targets until the last days of World War II—with a death toll running into the thousands.

Allied governments, too, pursued an anthrax-based biological warfare capability during the early 1940s. The British developed and successfully tested explosive canisters designed to induce inhalation anthrax by means of aerosolized spores. In 1942, British factory girls boxed five million "cattle cakes" laced with sporulated *anthracis* for a planned "Operation Vegetarian" attack on livestock grazing fields in Germany. And by 1944, engineers at what is now Fort Detrick, Maryland, 30 miles northwest of Washington, had perfected and produced 5,000 anthrax bombs for use by the Army Air Force. None of these devices was ever employed.

But at least on the American side, military research into anthrax weaponry continued for more than twenty years—with sometimes dangerous or even deadly results. In 1951, two Fort Detrick employees died after exposure to *anthracis* bacilli. And the program's body count might well have been considerably higher. Documents declassified and made public only in the late 1980s revealed that dozens of times in the 1950s and 1960s, military jets flying over the Dugway Proving Grounds near Salt Lake City, Utah, spray-released millions of anthrax spores in liquid slurries. Weather conditions during these test flights sometimes involved wind speeds of up to thirty miles per hour. In at least one case, a large cloud of anthrax spores floated over Highway 40, which is nowadays Interstate 80. Following another deliberate aerosol drop, the anthrax cargo was blown off course—and directly over Wendover, a town on the Utah-Nevada border.

American research into offensive biological weaponry was suspended during the Nixon administration, and all associated U.S. stockpiles of *bacillus anthracis* have since been destroyed.

HAVE MAN-MADE ANTHRAX AGENTS KILLED ANYONE DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY?

Yes, on at least one occasion. On April 2, 1979, a large plume of aerosolized anthrax spores was accidentally released into the atmosphere from a military microbiology facility outside the heavily populated Soviet city of Sverdlovsk (now Ekaterinburg). The Sverdlovsk poison factory, "Compound 19," was illegal under the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972, so Soviet authorities attempted to conceal what had happened by declining to alert local residents and delaying the distribution of antibiotics. It would have been a cataclysm had the wind that day not been blowing south, away from the city. As it was, more than sixty people died of inhalation anthrax over the following six weeks. Moscow maintained that the infection had been introduced gastrointestinally by tainted meat and ordered the KGB to confiscate local hospital records that would have proved otherwise. Not until 1992 did Russian president Boris Yeltsin acknowledge the truth.

A gigantic outbreak of anthrax in Zimbabwe during

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AP / Wide World Photos

Soldiers at Compound 19, in Ekaterinburg.

1979 and 1980—more than 10,738 human cases, 182 of them fatal—continues to puzzle investigators. The disease is ordinarily localized and recurrent in confined geographical areas. But the Zimbabwe epidemic spread to six of eight provinces in a country where anthrax had previously been rare. And it almost exclusively affected black-occupied "tribal trust" properties. Zimbabwe was then concluding a long and brutal guerrilla war during which the white Rhodesian army is known to have employed toxic chemical agents and to have targeted food supplies in insurgent-controlled parts of the countryside. Some suspicions persist—never confirmed—that the 1979-80 anthrax epidemic was the product of a deliberate Rhodesian attack on black-owned livestock.

WHERE DID THE ANTHRAX SPORES CONTAINED IN THE CURRENT WAVE OF TERRORIST MAILINGS COME FROM?

We may never know. Media reports concerning the spore-filled letter mailed to Tom Daschle's Senate office have routinely passed on the intelligence that this envelope contained an "especially pure" strain of the anthrax bacillus. This information has not been formally confirmed by federal laboratories, however. And, in any case, it is highly misleading as a piece of evidence. Many different strains of *anthracis* exist. But they are extraordinarily difficult to distinguish from one another, and even when they can be specified, the identification is of limited utility in tracing a sample's physical origin. *Bacillus anthracis* is "one of the most monomorphic species known," explains the World Health Organization. "That is to say, isolates from whatever type of source or geographical location are almost identical phenotypically and genotypically."

Widespread references to the "weapons-grade" quality of anthrax used in the Daschle attack are of similarly exaggerated evidentiary significance. In order to produce inhalation anthrax, bacterial spores must be of a particular size, between one and five microns wide—small enough to reach the lower respiratory mucosa of an intended victim, but large enough not to be immediately and safely exhaled. Milling an anthrax dust with such precision is not something you can do at home, and even the necessary scientific equipment tends to introduce static electricity that would bind neighboring spores to one another in relatively large and consequently useless clumps.

Nevertheless, the manufacture of "weapons-grade" anthrax does not require secret technology in a laboratory run by geniuses. British and American scientists, remember, managed to pull it off more than 50 years ago using purely mechanical techniques. Today, vastly more exact, computerized versions of their equipment are available on the open market for less than the price of an automobile. And information about how to cultivate bacteria like *anthracis* in quantities sufficient to mount a terrorist assault can be found on the shelves of any reasonably well-stocked public library.

In other words: The spore samples now in FBI custody are unlikely all by themselves to tell us much about where they came from. Old-fashioned investigative logic is a more promising tool.

Some analysts have speculated that Osama bin Laden operatives may have acquired aerosol-ready anthrax spores from mafia-connected former Soviet bioweapons specialists with access to diverted bacteriological stockpiles. Could be. But a much simpler and more logical reading of motive, means, and opportunity—assuming that donated or purchased bacterial supplies are at issue—points to Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Iraqi officials have formally acknowledged that their government, until the Persian Gulf War, maintained an extensive and sophisticated arsenal of anthrax weapons, and those same officials have been unable or unwilling to prove that they have since disposed of the stuff. And Iraqi intelligence agents are known to have had personal contact with bin Laden asso-

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ciates like World Trade Center pilot Mohamed Atta, for example.

Oddly enough, if the anthrax lately spread by the U.S. mail has indeed passed through Iraqi hands, there is an excellent chance that it was grown from sample cultures original not to Baghdad, but to Rockville, Maryland. Between 1985 and 1989, the American Type Culture Collection, the world's leading supplier of sample disease strains for use by public health programs, sold 21 different kinds of anthrax bacilli to the Iraqi government—under export licenses approved by the Reagan administration's Commerce Department.

BOTTOM LINE, THEN: HOW TOUGH A SPOT ARE WE IN?

The civilian population of the United States is under sustained assault by an organized terrorist enterprise possessing a form of infectious bacteria—finely milled, sporulated *anthracis*—among the most dangerous on earth. The fatality rate of inhalation anthrax, when the disease is not immediately diagnosed and treated, approaches 100 percent. Biological agents like this, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment concluded in 1993, when "efficiently delivered under the right conditions against unprotected populations would, pound for pound of weapon, exceed the killing power of nuclear weapons." Thirty kilograms of anthrax spores, delivered to Washington, D.C., by a missile on an overcast day under moderate wind conditions would kill an estimated 30,000 to 100,000 people. Delivered as an aerosol by an aircraft overflight of the same city on a calm, clear night, 100 kilograms of anthrax spores would kill an estimated one to three *million* people.

Against this possibility, America currently has no comprehensive atmospheric warning system in place. And its ability to mount an appropriate medical response to epidemic anthrax infection is far from perfect. According to a recent "consensus statement" published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, "there are no clinical studies of the treatment of inhalational anthrax in humans." What's more, "treatment of anthrax infections with ciprofloxacin has not been studied in humans" (though "animal models suggest excellent efficacy"). And existing federal supplies of that antibiotic remain too small for use in a widespread national emergency.

Clean-up of large-scale anthrax releases is extraordinarily difficult. During World War II, the British contaminated Gruinard Island off the Scottish coast with *anthracis* spores to gauge their effect on a test flock of sheep. The sheep died. And so did Gruinard Island. It took British health officials 36 years, 280 tons of formaldehyde, and 2,000 tons of seawater to make Gruinard once again safe for human visitation. Anthrax spores, it turns out, remain remarkably hardy through the fiercest extremes of heat, cold, acidity, desiccation, chemical disinfection, and even irradiation.

And guarding public health against prospective anthrax releases isn't easy, either. It, too, has never really been tested on human subjects, but a vaccine against anthrax does exist. Trouble is, the sole source of that (understocked and controversial) vaccine in the United States is a company called BioPort in Lansing, Michigan, which is currently operating under a license suspended by the FDA as punishment for a history of laboratory contamination, inadequate documentation and staff training, and low manufacturing standards. BioPort's best known owner/investor is retired Admiral William Crowe. But day-to-day responsibility for the company, for what it's worth, falls to a German immigrant of Lebanese ancestry named Fuad El-Hibri. Fuad El-Hibri's father, an international businessman named Ibrahim El-Hibri, is prominently associated with an Islamic charity headquartered in Beirut.

IS THERE ANY GOOD NEWS?

Maybe, yes. Human beings—especially children, for unexplained reasons—appear to possess some degree of natural resistance to anthrax. Many more people are exposed to the bacillus than ever become sick from it, and a lethal respiratory anthrax infection seems to require many thousands of spores. America is on high alert for signs of such primary airborne infections, and some research indicates that secondary airborne infections are next to impossible. Even the tiniest anthrax particulates weigh enough to drop them out of the atmosphere and onto the ground in fairly short order, and once they're there, the spores are unlikely to bounce back up. Military studies conducted on surfaces contaminated with one million anthrax spores per square meter suggest that not even heavy truck traffic or backdrafts from helicopters and jet aircraft will kick up an inhalable, lethal quantity of the stuff.

Then there's this reassuring prediction, published during the summer of 1999 in a special issue of the Centers for Disease Control's *Emerging Infectious Diseases* journal. Anthrax's "lack of volatility" and "inability to penetrate intact skin," wrote two senior researchers at Fort Detrick, the nation's leading biological warfare laboratory, "make it unlikely, in most cases, that persons coming in contact with letters, packages, and other devices purported to contain anthrax will be at risk for aerosol exposure. Moreover, because energy is required to aerosolize anthrax spores, opening a letter, even if it contained anthrax, would be unlikely to place a person at substantial risk."

Oops. ♦

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From *The Militant Catholic's Dictionary*

spic•y adj. 1. Flavorful; zesty. 2. Uninhibited. 3. Beyond the ordinary. *The* New Oxford Review *is a spicy magazine that you can count on to scandalize politically-correct zombies.*

Church Mil•i•tant n. 1. Members of the Catholic Church on earth, as opposed to those in Purgatory or Heaven. 2. Catholics who really care about their Faith. *The Church Militant has found her voice in publications such as* Crisis, Inside the Vatican, This Rock, Los Angeles Lay Catholic Mission, *the* Houston Catholic Worker, *and the* New Oxford Review.

au•da•cious adj. 1. Fearless; bold; daring. 2. Unrestrained by convention. 3. Bravely original. *The audacious* New Oxford Review *struck again.*

out•ra•geous adj. 1. Quite unusual. 2. Offensive to the hypersensitive. 3. Endearing to those who are outraged by current trends. *In venturing to say the unsayable, the* New Oxford Review *and* The Wanderer *again proved themselves to be thoroughly outrageous.*

mean-spir•it•ed adj. 1. Uncompromising. 2. Said of someone who tells the truth even when it might hurt. 3. A handy epithet used by feminists and homosexuals to slander the character of a person when they can't think of a way to refute that person's argument. *The writers for* The Catholic World Report *and the* New Oxford Review *are mean-spirited.*

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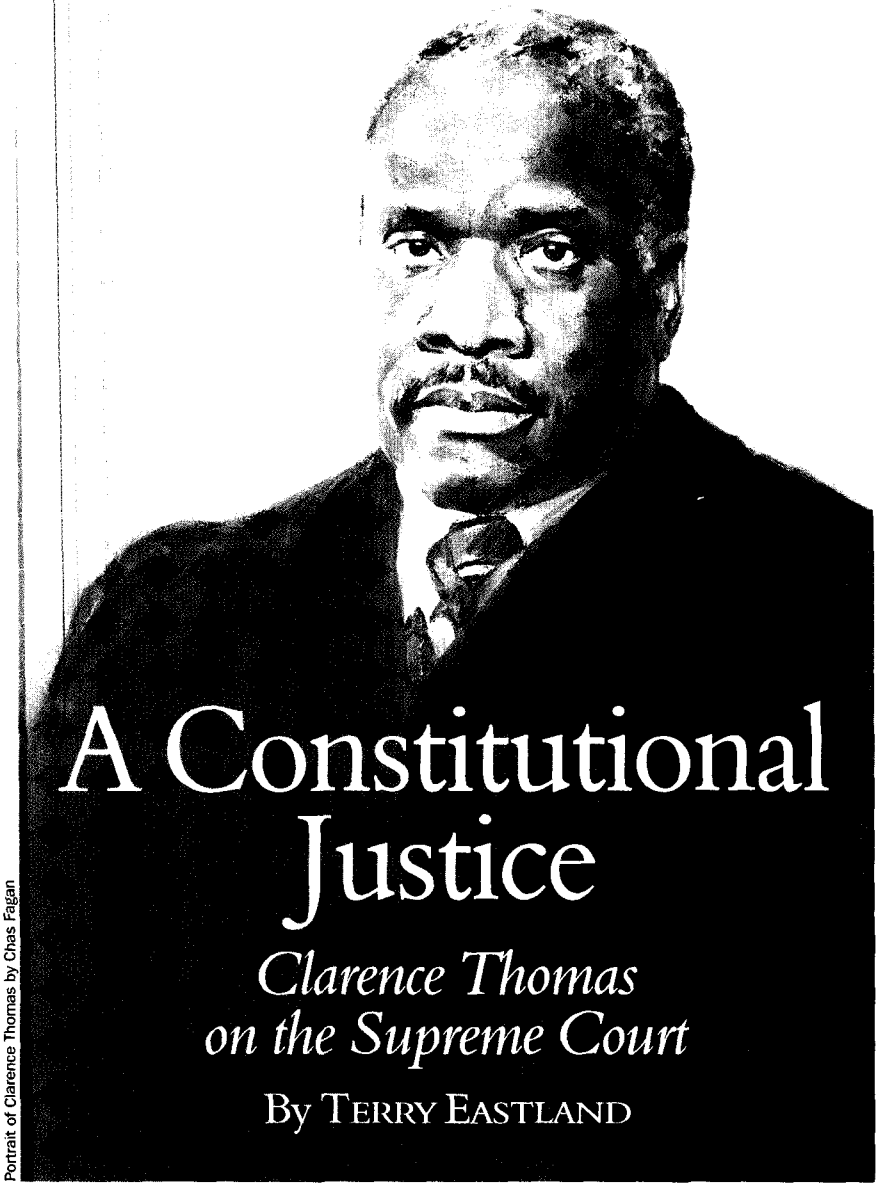

Portrait of Clarence Thomas by Chas Fagan

A Constitutional Justice

Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court

By Terry Eastland

In recent years the public perception of Clarence Thomas has undergone a remarkable change. Few who closely follow the work of the Supreme Court now indulge the notion he isn't up to the job. Seldom is it said that he relies excessively on his clerks or that (as the columnist Carl Rowan cruelly alleged in 1993) he is a "clone" of Justice Antonin Scalia. Even legal critics concede that Thomas, who at fifty-three is still the youngest justice, has fashioned a distinctive approach to judging worthy of respect—one that compels him at times to part ways with Scalia. Two months ago, Emory Law School professor David Garrow told Tony Mauro of *American Lawyer* that "the big news after ten years is that Clarence Thomas has emerged as a reputable, independence justice." Thomas is already among the most important legacies of the president who nominated him, George Bush. Assuming a lengthy tenure, he could become one of the most consequential political figures of the postwar conservative movement.

Clarence Thomas
A Biography
by Andrew Peyton Thomas
Encounter, 661 pp., $29.95

Terry Eastland is publisher of The Weekly Standard. *His books include* Ending Affirmative Action: The Case for Colorblind Justice (1996).

Race, that singular issue in our history, is inextricably bound up in the life and work of Clarence Thomas. This point becomes clear upon reading Andrew Peyton Thomas's *Clarence Thomas: A Biography*. The author (no relation to Clarence Thomas) is an attorney in Phoenix. The seed for his biography was an article he wrote two years ago for The Weekly Standard, in which he praised Justice Thomas as "a man of unbreakable character and our greatest public servant."

Though largely favorable to its subject, the book is by no means an authorized biography. Clarence Thomas declined to be interviewed for it and discouraged sources from cooperating. Doubtless aware that full-scale biographies of justices are typically done after they have left the Court, Thomas may have felt the book was embarrassingly premature. It is also possible that Thomas—a man understandably wary of wrong perceptions—may have been unwilling to trust even a friendly writer. (Tony Mauro has reported that Thomas himself is now working on a book about his upbringing, a subject he often discusses in speeches.)

Still, Andrew Thomas found plenty of material in the extensive public record about Clarence Thomas and secured interviews with scores of Thomas's relatives, friends, and associates. The book follows Thomas from cradle to Court and all points in between, including the bitter Anita Hill saga. And race is the unavoidably constant theme.

The narrative traces Thomas's family roots back to slavery, the Civil War, and Jim Crow. Thomas's ancestors almost certainly came from the Atlantic shores of West Africa and were brought in the eighteenth century to the Thomas and King plantations in Laurens and Liberty counties in Georgia. Clarence Thomas's father descended from slaves on the Thomas plantation, his mother from slaves on the King property. Andrew Thomas quotes from a Clarence Thomas speech in which the justice described himself as "a descendant of the slaves whose labors made the dark soil of the South productive." Correctly regarding that as polite understatement, the author

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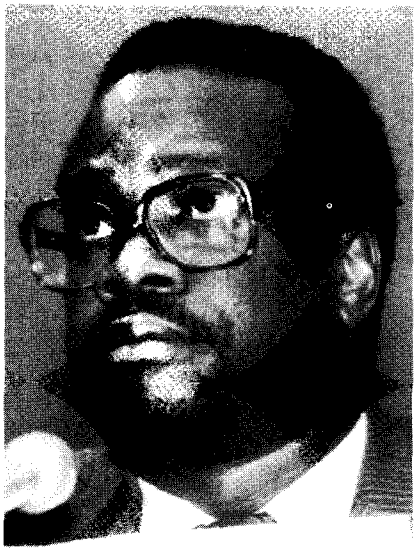

Both: Encounter Books.

Left: Clarence Thomas in high school, acting in a passion play. Right: Testifying to Congress in 1984.

reports in unremitting terms the hard lives slaves endured.

For blacks, reconstruction was the same in Georgia as elsewhere in the South. Gains made by blacks after the war were quickly reversed. Whites were determined to keep blacks subordinate—with nightriders, the Ku Klux Klan, and, by the end of the century, the Jim Crow laws, which extended segregation. Between 1882 and 1923, Andrew Thomas reports, lynchings were more common in Georgia than in any other state.

Both of Clarence Thomas's grandfathers, "November" Thomas and Myers Anderson, were born in the first decade of the twentieth century. November Thomas's son M.C. married Myers Anderson's daughter Leola in 1947, when she was seventeen. Clarence, their first son, was born in 1948 in Pin Point, Georgia, a tiny town of two hundred residents, nine miles southeast of Savannah. The house that was the first home of the man who would become the 106th Justice came with a dirt floor and no electricity or plumbing. Thomas's birth certificate identified the infant: "Pinpoint, rural, boy, colored."

The odds that Clarence Thomas would amount to much were dismal. His father, a philanderer, abandoned the family in 1949. Soon his mother found another man, but he had no interest in assuming responsibility for her children. That Thomas defied the odds— "I was a statistic waiting to happen," he has said—owed much to relatives who insisted on right conduct and hard work and who, though not formally educated, understood the value of a good education. The most important person in Thomas's life was Myers Anderson, an industrious man who owned his own business and rejected all forms of welfare. Anderson and his wife raised young Clarence, sending him to Catholic schools. Thomas was a good student and the first in his family ever to be graduated from high school. In 1967, having decided to become a priest, he entered Immaculate Conception Seminary in Missouri.

Soon enough Thomas changed course, deciding against the priesthood. He left Immaculate Conception and wound up at Holy Cross. Graduating cum laude, Thomas then went to Yale Law School, finishing in 1974. Yale had instituted in 1969 an affirmative action admissions program under which up to ten percent of the seats in each class were set aside for minority applicants, who competed among themselves for these slots, not with all the other applicants. This was the first affirmative action program Thomas encountered. His acceptance of the program, writes Andrew Thomas, faded as he worried that it called into question the genuine achievements of those it professed to help. Thomas, who had voted for George McGovern in 1972, began to move to the right, finding merit "in the philosophy of self-help enunciated by Booker T. Washington and, in his own homespun way, Myers Anderson."

After Yale, Thomas worked in the Missouri attorney general's office, for the Monsanto Corporation in St. Louis, and then in Senator John Danforth's Washington office. In 1981 Reagan appointed Thomas to head the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights and in 1982 named him chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In those positions Thomas grappled with a variety of law enforcement issues, many involving affirmative action. In 1985, he changed his registration from independent to Republican and grew more certain of his opposition in affirmative action. He was serving a second term as EEOC chairman in 1989 when Bush appointed him to the federal appeals court in Washington.

In 1991, when Thurgood Marshall stepped down, Thomas was appointed—after Anita Hill's dubious charge of sexual harassment precipitated one of the most contentious confirmation fights ever. On the Court, as Andrew Thomas points out, Justice Thomas has proved the most dedicated advocate of originalism in constitutional interpretation—an approach that seeks to determine the original meaning of the Constitution by consulting its text and history. In a wide range of race cases, Thomas has endorsed positions consistent with colorblind law.

It would be an understatement to say that Clarence Thomas knows something about what the law dryly calls "racial classification." A racial classifi-

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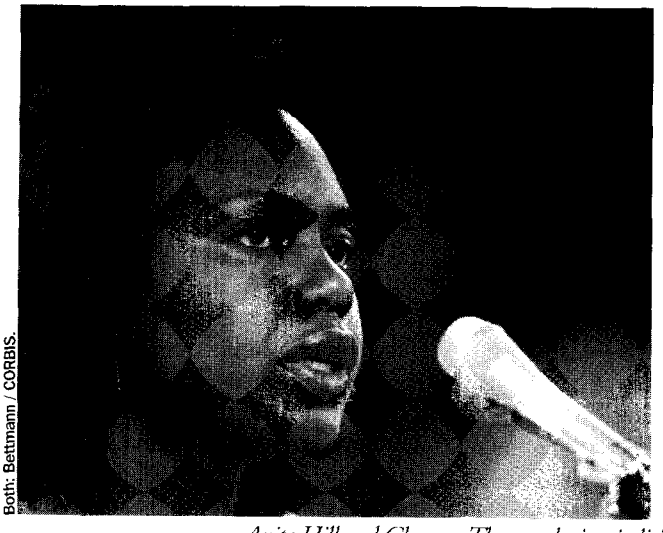
cation is one that picks out or identifies a group, for whatever purpose, in terms of race. The slavery of Thomas's ancestors required racial classification. So did segregation, which Thomas himself experienced growing up in Pin Point and Savannah. Those were hostile classifications, the former denying liberty altogether and the latter constricting it. When Thomas moved from Immaculate Conception to Holy Cross, America was embarking on the new era of affirmative action, which is still with us. As Thomas saw at Yale, affirmative action also requires racial classification, though its stated purpose is to help, not harm, its targets.

Andrew Thomas claims that Clarence Thomas has benefited from affirmative action, and he offers statements from friends and associates of Thomas in support of this claim. Clarence Thomas himself has always been reluctant to concede that he ever needed preferential treatment, though he has admitted to being preferred on account of his race. In this matter, however, what is important is what Thomas learned about affirmative action. And what he learned, starting at Yale, led him eventually to oppose preferences entirely. Thomas doubtless was capturing his years of reflection on this matter when, in a concurring opinion in the 1995 *Adarand* case, which involved the legality of a racial preference in a federal highway-construction program, he said such programs partake of "paternalism" and have "unintended consequences [that] can be as poisonous and pernicious as any other form of discrimination." He continued: "So-called benign discrimination teaches many that because of chronic and apparently immutable handicaps, minorities cannot compete without their patronizing indulgence. These programs stamp minorities with a badge of inferiority and may cause them to develop dependencies or to adopt an attitude that they are 'entitled' to preferences."

Of course, "these programs" also discriminate against persons of the non-preferred racial groups. Discrimination of this kind was the claim of the plaintiff in *Adarand* (as in all other court challenges to affirmative action). But, as his opinion in the case shows, Thomas does not emphasize this discrimination as a ground of objection. His concern is with the programs' ostensible beneficiaries. Thus, when the justices met to discuss *Adarand*, the author reports, Thomas "invoked his own life as a talking point" as he discussed how his grandfather hadn't needed affirmative action to obtain contracts for his fuel-delivery business.

One way to understand Thomas's thinking about race is to say that he has reviewed all the racial classifications that have ever been used with regard to blacks and found that they constitute efforts to "experiment" upon blacks, whether for ill or good. And Thomas's conclusion is that none of these experiments should be tolerated. Consider this passage from a 1986 speech at the Georgetown Law Center: "I am black. I am part of the grand experiment. . . . I have been both deterred and preferred by racially conscious policies. I have been the guinea pig for many social experiments on minorities. To all who would continue these experiments, I say please, 'no more.' Please leave me alone."

To argue for no more experiments and therefore no more racial classifications is to end up in favor of colorblind law—law that does not distinguish on the basis of race. Thomas is hardly the first to advocate colorblind law. Emory Law School professor Andrew Kull has observed in his seminal book *The Colorblind Constitution* that from the 1830s to the 1950s "the American civil rights movement first elaborated, then held as its unvarying political objective, a rule of law requiring the color-blind treatment of individuals." And they did so, as Kull writes, because they saw "the right of the individual to be treated without regard to race . . . as a moral and political end in itself." Where did they get this idea? From the same place Thomas does: the Declaration of Independence, which asserted that all men are created equally in possession of the same rights. Thomas's view, like that of the earlier colorblind-



Both: Bettmann / CORBIS.

Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas during judiciary hearings on his Supreme Court nomination.

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law advocates, is that to classify on the basis of race is to see people not as the individuals they are but to disregard and violate their essential humanity.

No majority of the Supreme Court has ever said, either explicitly or by implication, that the Constitution is colorblind. In *Adarand*, Clarence Thomas stated on his own what only a few justices, in so many words, have ever said when he wrote that "under our Constitution the government may not make distinctions on the basis of race." Andrew Thomas points out that the originalist Clarence Thomas did not engage in his "usual punctilious examination of the intentions of the Framers" in setting forth his position but went directly to the Declaration of Independence. Andrew Thomas doesn't think that an originalist inquiry into the meaning of the equal protection clause can yield a colorblind rule. He says Clarence Thomas declined to make this kind of inquiry because "he knew" what the only result could be.

But we don't know what "he knew." Thomas has not said, and while the preponderance of scholarship supports Andrew Thomas's conclusion, some notable scholars, including Robert Bork and Michael McConnell (recently nominated to the Tenth Circuit), disagree. It bears noting also that Justice Thomas was writing a concurrence, a form that is more freewheeling, and not an opinion for the Court, in which he could not so easily have merely asserted the colorblind Constitution, but probably would have had to argue for it "in his usual punctilious" way. Nor does Andrew Thomas contemplate the possibility that Clarence Thomas sees a colorblind rule elsewhere in the Fourteenth Amendment—specifically in the privileges and immunities clause, which the Court long ago virtually read out of the Constitution. Dissenting in a 1999 case, Thomas examined the original meaning of that clause and found it protects "fundamental rights." In calling upon the Court to reevaluate the meaning of the clause "in an appropriate case," Thomas said, "we should also consider whether the clause should displace, rather than augment, portions of our equal protection . . . jurisprudence." It would appear that Thomas could have much more to say in explaining why, "under our Constitution, government may not make distinctions based on race."

Andrew Thomas correctly sees Clarence Thomas as "one of the great intellectual and political rebels." He has rebelled, in particular, and indeed in the deepest part of him, against the tendency to assume that blacks in political life think or should think alike, which is to say as liberals, especially on matters of race. In a 1998 speech to the National Bar Association, Thomas captured his worthy and historic rebellion well when he declared, "I come here today . . . to assert my right to think for myself, to refuse to have my ideas assigned to me . . . because I'm black. I come to state that I'm a man, free to think for myself and do as I please." No reader of this book can doubt that he will continue to do that. ♦

Naipaul's Civilization

What this year's Nobel Laureate saw more than a decade ago. **BY DAVID BROOKS**

Two of the most brilliant explanations of Osama bin Laden were written eleven years ago. The first is an essay that appeared in the September 1990 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* by Bernard Lewis called "The Roots of Muslim Rage." The second is a lecture delivered by V.S. Naipaul as part of the Manhattan Institute's annual Wriston Lecture series on October 30, 1990 in New York. Lewis is one of the great intellectuals of our age, but Naipaul won the Nobel Prize for literature two weeks ago, so let's review his thinking.

Zuma Press

The lecture was called "Our Universal Civilization," but it is really about time and perceptions of time. Those who believe that almost all fundamental political disputes are really arguments between theories of history will find much to their liking.

Naipaul starts by describing a young man he met in Java who wanted to be a poet. Not a lot of money in that, but Naipaul asked him, "Isn't your mother secretly proud you are a poet?" The young man replied, "She wouldn't have even a sense of what being a poet is."

In her worldview, all poetry had been written. It was passed down through the ages. Having her son tell her that he wanted to be a poet was akin to having him tell her he wanted to grow up and write the Bible. This woman's conception of history was static, whereas her son had moved into a different culture.

When Naipaul used the phrase Universal Civilization, he was talking about the civilization that believes in the future, in progress, in the unfolding of human accomplishment. That civilization started in Europe, and once had racialist overtones, but it has spread.

It has enemies, however. Naipaul goes on to describe his journeys through non-Arab Muslim lands. What was striking about these places was that

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they were not originally Islamic. They had been something else.

But that pre-Islamic past had been everywhere denounced and erased. In the virulent form of Islam that Naipaul found in, say, Iran, the glories of Persia were being denied and abolished. In the beginning was error, apostasy, disgrace. Then came Islam and truth. End of story. "Faith abolished the past," Naipaul reported.

The style of religion he found was a complete way of life. "To possess the faith was to possess the only truth; and possession of this truth set many things on its head. To believe that the time before the coming of the faith was a time of error distorted more than an idea of history. What lay within the faith was to be judged one way; what lay outside of it was to be in another."

Naipaul was born in Trinidad to a Hindu family. At 18 he won a scholarship to Oxford, and he has lived in England since. In other words, he has many different cultures in his heritage, many histories flowing through his veins: Trinidad, India, England, the culture of the global intellectual class.

But the Islamicists he met in his travels repressed all their histories but one. The Taliban recently destroyed a 1,500 year-old Buddhist shrine, but the Islamic radicals commit the same sort of vandalism within themselves. They destroy all their inheritances but Islamic fundamentalism. And when they face a world in which they confront the pluralism of histories, they grow disoriented. Naipaul calls it "philosophical hysteria."

During his trip through Iran, Naipaul met a newspaper editor who had been at the center of the 1979 revolution. Seven months later his son was trying to get a visa to study in the United States, but the hostage crisis was underway and he couldn't get in. This man, who had supported the Khomeini revolution, was lamenting his son's predicament. "It's his future," he said. The father in him could not quite accept that his son would live as a slave to the past.

All of which helps us understand bin Laden. He and his followers have mutilated themselves, by destroying all but one of their cultural inheritances. They believe in only one history, and it was defined and perfected long ago. Everything since is decline. In bin Laden's crackpot version of history, everything since the decline of the Ottoman empire and its alleged greatness is an additional outrage and insult to God.

In this worldview the future is not especially important (so why not go blow yourself up in a plane?). In fact, the concept of an unknown and desirable future is something of an insult. America stands for the future. It's the land of promise.

More than anywhere else, it is a country with a multiplicity of histories intertwining. It's the place where the different pasts of the world come together to bring human freedom to fruition. In Lincoln's words, it's the "last best hope of earth."

The emphasis in that phrase is on "last." It's hard to imagine a time when America settles back into the realm of unimportant middle rank nations, because America is about chasing the future fastest, whatever that future is. That's what the phrase "the pursuit of happiness" means, a phrase Naipaul dissects in his speech.

So America's conception of history is the antithesis of bin Laden's conception. He recognizes an enemy when he sees one. ♦

Fighting Fanaticism

The young Churchill's war in the Sudan.

BY STEVEN HAYWARD

Innumerable comparisons have been made, in the days since September 11, to World War II and especially to Winston Churchill's wartime leadership. In some ways, of course, the comparison is inappropriate. But in one particular way, it is fitting: All great statesmen have a central idea or insight. Churchill's was that the distinction between liberty and tyranny, between civilization and barbarism, is real and substantial.

The River War
An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan
by Winston Churchill
Carroll & Graff, 380 pp., $14

This may seem simple or even simple-minded, and it is worth recalling that when Churchill referred to Hitler in the 1930s as "that bad man," sophisticated people in Britain criticized him as a reactionary throwback. Even some of Churchill's admirers make the same mistake. William Manchester's biography of Churchill, *The Last Lion*, is a masterpiece. Yet the very title of the book attributes Churchill's greatness precisely to the extent that Churchill was an anachronism: a Victorian whose virtues were indispensable in 1940, but whose like we are never to see again.

Churchill was, in fact, the most modern of men in many ways. His anticipation of how science would change modern life, warfare, and politics was profound. So, too, many of our current reflections on the character of terrorism, Islamic fanaticism, and the clash between the Islamic world and the West are anticipated in Churchill's great book, *The River War*, first published in 1900. You can see in this early work much of the insight and clarity that distinguished Churchill as prime minister four decades later.

The River War tells the story of the British reconquest of the Sudan in the

Steven Hayward is senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute in San Francisco, and the author of The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order, 1964-1980.

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1890s. Amidst the squalor and misery of the native peoples of the Sudan, which was then a part of British-administered Egypt, a leader named Mohammed Ahmed arose, proclaiming himself the second great prophet of Islam—the Mahdi—who would lead a crusade to conquer Egypt and drive out the European infidels. The Mahdi attracted a wide and fanatical following, whose warriors became known as the Dervishes (from which we got the image of the "whirling Dervish," the warrior swirling his sword over his head), and began to make good on his boasts.

A series of minor British military expeditions to resist the rising tide of the Mahdi were ineffectual or disastrous, chiefly because political opinion on the matter in Britain was uncertain and feckless. After two small expeditions were annihilated, the Liberal government of William Gladstone decided to retreat entirely and ordered the evacuation of the British-Egyptian garrison in Khartoum. The government sent General Charles Gordon to Khartoum to effect the retreat.

Gordon and his forces were surrounded and eventually wiped out by the Mahdi's forces in 1885, just two days before yet another small relief expedition, after much plodding and sloth, reached Khartoum. Gordon's body was mutilated and his head paraded around the Mahdi's villages. For the Mahdi, the sacking of Khartoum was only the beginning of the jihad to purge all Egypt of the European infidels (whom the Mahdi called, in a term revealing of the parochialism of his cause, the "Turks"). Although the Mahdi died just a few months after the sacking of Khartoum, the spirit of Mahdism remained under the leadership of his successor, the Khalifa Abdullahi.

Meanwhile, the British did nothing to avenge the death of Gordon or retrieve their position in the Sudan for several years. But throughout the early 1890s, public opinion in favor of a war against the Mahdist forces in the Sudan steadily grew, until, following the replacement of the Liberals with a

Both: Hulton / Archive.

Above: General Charles George Gordon. Below: Churchill as a young army officer.

Conservative government in 1895, the reconquest of the Sudan was begun.

There was no single reason this was decided upon. As Churchill explains, "The diplomatist said: 'It is to please the Triple Alliance.' The politician said: 'It is to triumph over the radicals.' The polite person said: 'It is to restore the Khedive's rule in the Sudan [the Khedive was the native ruler of Egypt].' But the man in the street—and there are many men in many streets—said: 'It is to avenge General Gordon.'"

The rest of *The River War* is a magnificent account of the long campaign that ensued, culminating in the decisive Battle of Omdurman in September 1898, when Churchill participated in what is thought to have been the last cavalry charge of the British army. It is remarkable that at the beginning, he engaged in what is probably the last cavalry charge ever made in battle, and he ended fifty-seven years later pondering what to do about nuclear weapons.

As with Afghanistan today, there was great concern that the Sudan was too forbidding and remote for a successful military campaign, and there were many public worries that the British were heading for yet another debacle in the desert. The answer was a military campaign of extraordinary forethought and patience, requiring two years to unfold, which Churchill describes masterfully in some of the best war writing ever done. One of his most memorable passages describes how logistics determined the outcome:

> In a tale of war the reader's mind is filled with the fighting. The battle—with its vivid scenes, its moving incidents, its plain and tremendous results—excites the imagination and commands attention. . . . The long trailing line of communications is unnoticed. . . .Victory is the beautiful, bright-colored flower. Transport is the stem without which it could never have blossomed. Yet even the military student, in his zeal to master the fascinating combinations of the actual conflict, often forgets the far more intricate complications of supply. . . . Fighting the Dervish was primarily a matter of transport. The Khalifa was conquered on the railway.

Perhaps this explains Churchill's interest in logistics during both World War I and World War II. As he put it in

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his conclusion: "The chances of battle were reduced to a negligible fraction. There is no higher strategy than this. The reconquest of the Sudan differs from most British wars in its later stages, in that it became an act of calculated and deliberate policy, and not a hurried, unavoidable conflict breaking out unexpectedly and against the wishes of the Government."

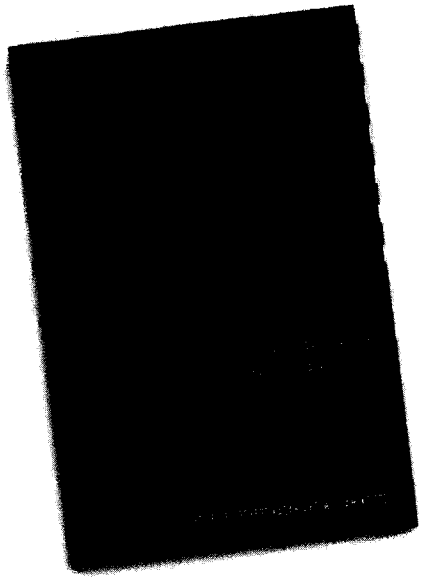
For us now faced with battle in Afghanistan, most telling may be Churchill's reflections on the clash of civilizations that played out in the war:

> How dreadful are the curses which Mohammedanism lays on its votaries! Besides the fanatical frenzy, which is as dangerous in a man as hydrophobia in a dog, there is this fearful fatalistic apathy. The effects are apparent in many countries. Improvident habits, slovenly systems of agriculture, sluggish methods of commerce, and insecurity of property exist wherever the followers of the Prophet rule or live. A degraded sensualism deprives this life of its grace and refinement; the next of its dignity and sanctity. The fact that in Mohammedan law every woman must belong to some man as his absolute property—either as a child, a wife, or a concubine—must delay the final extinction of slavery until the faith of Islam has ceased to be a great power among men. Individual Moslems may show splendid qualities.
>
> Thousands become the brave and loyal soldiers of the Queen: all know how to die. But the influence of the religion paralyzes the social development of those who follow it. No stronger retrograde force exists in the world. Far from being moribund, Mohammedanism is a militant and proselytizing faith. It has already spread throughout Central Africa, raising fearless warriors at every step; and were it not that Christianity is sheltered in the strong arms of science—the science against which it had vainly struggled—the civilization of modern Europe might fall, as fell the civilization of ancient Rome.

This is, of course, the kind of statement which modern multiculturalists would use against Churchill as proof of Western chauvinism or racism or worse. Yet Churchill is much more even-tempered and balanced than his critics.

He offers, for example, a penetrating analysis of fanaticism:

> In countries where there is education and mental activity or refinement, this high and often ultra-human motive is found in the pride of glorious traditions, in a keen sympathy with surrounding misery, or in philosophical recognition of the dignity of the species. Ignorance deprives savage nations of such incentives. Yet in the marvelous economy of nature this very ignorance is a source of greater strength. It affords them the mighty stimulus of fanaticism. . . . The desert tribes proclaimed that they fought for the glory of God. But although the force of fanatical passion is far greater than that exerted by any philosoph-



PRESENT DANGERS

Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy

Edited by Robert Kagan and William Kristol

Present Dangers was initially published late last year as a warning—as Robert Kagan and William Kristol write in the preface—of what could happen if the United States did not reverse its "declining military strength, flagging will and confusion about our role in the world." The contributors to the book—Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Peter Rodman, Elliott Abrams and others, some now occupying key roles in the current administration—took a hard look at the crises that had arisen in the "squandered decade" of the 1990s and pleaded for America to re-arm morally, intellectually and literally.

The danger they saw is now history. Their warning has become a prophecy. No longer simply a wake up call to an America that seemed to have fallen asleep at the wheel, ***Present Dangers*** is now a guide to the world crises we can no longer deny and the war we must win.

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The Ninth Bengal Cavalry in the Sudan in 1899.

> ical belief, its function is just the same. It gives men something which they think is sublime to fight for, and this serves them as an excuse for wars which it is desirable to begin for different reasons. Fanaticism is not a cause of war. It is the means which helps savage peoples to fight.

In other words, what we call fanaticism derives from human nature itself, and we should not deprecate its force or depth. After all, the victorious British behaved with, if not fanaticism, then at least with a strain of vengeance and ruthlessness that, committed by the other side, would be counted as fanatic savagery. The British deliberately blew up the Mahdi's tomb in Khartoum, and General Kitchener disinterred the Mahdi's body and intended to keep his skull as a memento. Queen Victoria wrote after the battle, "Surely Gordon is avenged."

In another passage astonishing for its prescience, Churchill describes a moment near the end of the Battle of Omdurman, when two thousand lightly armed Dervishes on horseback made a futile last charge into the British lines. They were all wiped out. Churchill observed: "The valour of their deed has been discounted by those who have told their tale. 'Mad fanaticism' is the depreciating comment of their conquerers. I hold this to be a cruel injustice. Nor can he be a very brave man who will not credit them with a nobler motive. . . . Why should we regard as madness in the savage what would be sublime in civilized men?"

What follows is the most remarkable passage of the entire book: "For I hope that if evil days should come upon our own country, and the last army which a collapsing Empire could interpose between London and the invader were dissolving in rout and ruin, that there would be some—even in these modern days—who would not care to accustom themselves to a new order of things and tamely survive the disaster."

This was not mere bravado. In the late summer of 1940, when a German invasion was expected imminently, Churchill prepared a speech that he ended up not having to give, entitled "You Can Take One With You." But he also understood why bravery was not enough without all the other virtues. The Dervishes had finally only ferocity to offer the world. Churchill's description of democracy aroused shows his central insight at work: "No terms but fight or death were offered. No reparation or apology could be made. . . . The red light of retribution played on the bayonets and the lances, and civilization—elsewhere sympathetic, merciful, tolerant, ready to discuss or to argue, eager to avoid violence, to submit to law, to effect a compromise—here advanced with an expression of inexorable sternness, and rejecting all other courses, offered only the arbitration of the sword." Churchill understood that Western culture and civilization embody an idea of justice based on reason and inclined toward moderation, while barbarism lacks any reasoned principle of justice or progress or moderation.

This is why the most important question of the present moment is not so much the practical difficulties of military action or intelligence gathering techniques, but the question of whether we are clear and confident of why we must fight. The fever swamps of the multicultural left in America today, besotted with a postmodern theory that rejects the ideas of both reason and progress, cannot escape the "moral equivalence" between America and its terrorist enemies. Such people, as Churchill once put it in another context, are unable to choose between the fire brigade and the fire.

Older liberals, who still have faith in reason and progress as it came down from the progressive era, recognize this for the repugnant nihilist nonsense it is. *Time* magazine essayist Lance Morrow, not known for ferocious or spirited pronouncements, had it right when he writes: "Anyone who does not loathe the people who did these things, and the people who cheer them on, is too philosophical for decent company." The great unintended consequence of September 11 may turn out to be a reforging of the American consensus that was shattered during the Cold War, and a marginalization of the multicultural left. As Churchill might put it, it is a chance for the New World to display its newness once again. ♦

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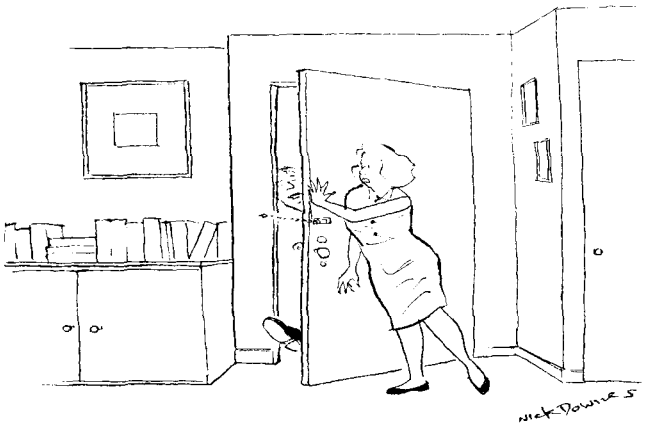

"Excuse me—Could I read you one of my poems?"

The Sontag Award

By rights, the latest Susan Sontag Award—our acknowledgment of inanity by intellectuals and artists—belongs to playwright Tony Kushner, author of *Angels in America*. He started by telling the *Los Angeles Times*, "I'm hoping people will be respectful of the horror—unlike Bush, who led what seemed to be a pep rally on a mass grave. . . . If Americans begin to realize the interconnectedness of things through even something as horrible as terrorism, then perhaps we can start to realize the world is a complicated place." Then he told the *New York Times*, "People who have suffered oppression can recognize oppression when it appears. . . . New Yorkers are a lot less hawkish. . . . We know what collateral damage, as the Pentagon calls it, looks like up close."

But Kushner's prize was snatched away at the last moment by Oliver Stone, director of such films as *JFK* and *Natural Born Killers*. At a recent film panel, according to the *New Yorker*, Stone began by denouncing the "new world order": "I think the revolt of September 11th was about 'F— you! F— your order.'" (Christopher Hitchens interrupted at this point to suggest it wasn't revolt but "state-supported mass murder." "Whatever," Stone replied.) Stone later added, "All great changes have come from people or events that were initially misunderstood. . . . I think, I think . . . I think many things." The trouble is that they aren't worth thinking. ♦

Book of the Week

A Life in Full

Midge Decter remembers. **BY J. BOTTUM**

An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War by Midge Decter (HarperCollins, 234 pp., $24)

If only the palace of wisdom really were found on the road of excess, we would be so wise these days. So wise. But it turns out that wisdom is found mostly down the long road of everyday life. Some turn crochety and strange in age. Some become petulant and self-absorbed. A few grow wise. And the measure of a culture's health is the capacity to pass a little of that hard-won wisdom back in acceptable ways to the young.

Midge Decter is now in her seventies, and part of what makes her new memoir so fascinating is the wisdom she's found along the way. But what makes it even more fascinating is that she lived her life in the midst of the deluge, the era in which American culture decided all the old wisdom was outmoded. At each point in her life—confronting the assaults of communism, Freudianism, feminism, and all the rest—she was the voice of sanity, insisting that life has a shape, an arc from birth to death, that we cannot alter simply by wishing it were otherwise.

The arc of *An Old Wife's Tale* runs from Minnesota, where she grew up, to her life in New York. Along the way, she reared four children, two from her first marriage and two from her marriage to Norman Podhoretz, the longtime editor of *Commentary*. She worked for *Harper's* in the exciting days when Willie Morris was the editor. She edited for a period at Basic Books, ran the anti-Communist "Committee for the Free World," held a fellowship at the Heritage Foundation, and landed for a time at the journal *First Things*.

Along the way, she fought innumerable battles, but it is her struggles with the feminists she recounts in greatest detail: her irritation with the bad prose and worse ideas of Betty Friedan, her debate with Gloria Steinem, her observation of her female friends undergoing the strange transformation into unhappiness all around her.

One wishes Midge Decter had indulged in more gossip from the 1950s to the 1990s; she seems to have known every public intellectual in America, and she always has something interesting to say about them. But *An Old Wife's Tale* is aimed at a different place: It is not just a personal memoir but an ongoing and compelling argument that life well-lived has a shape and an arc. ♦

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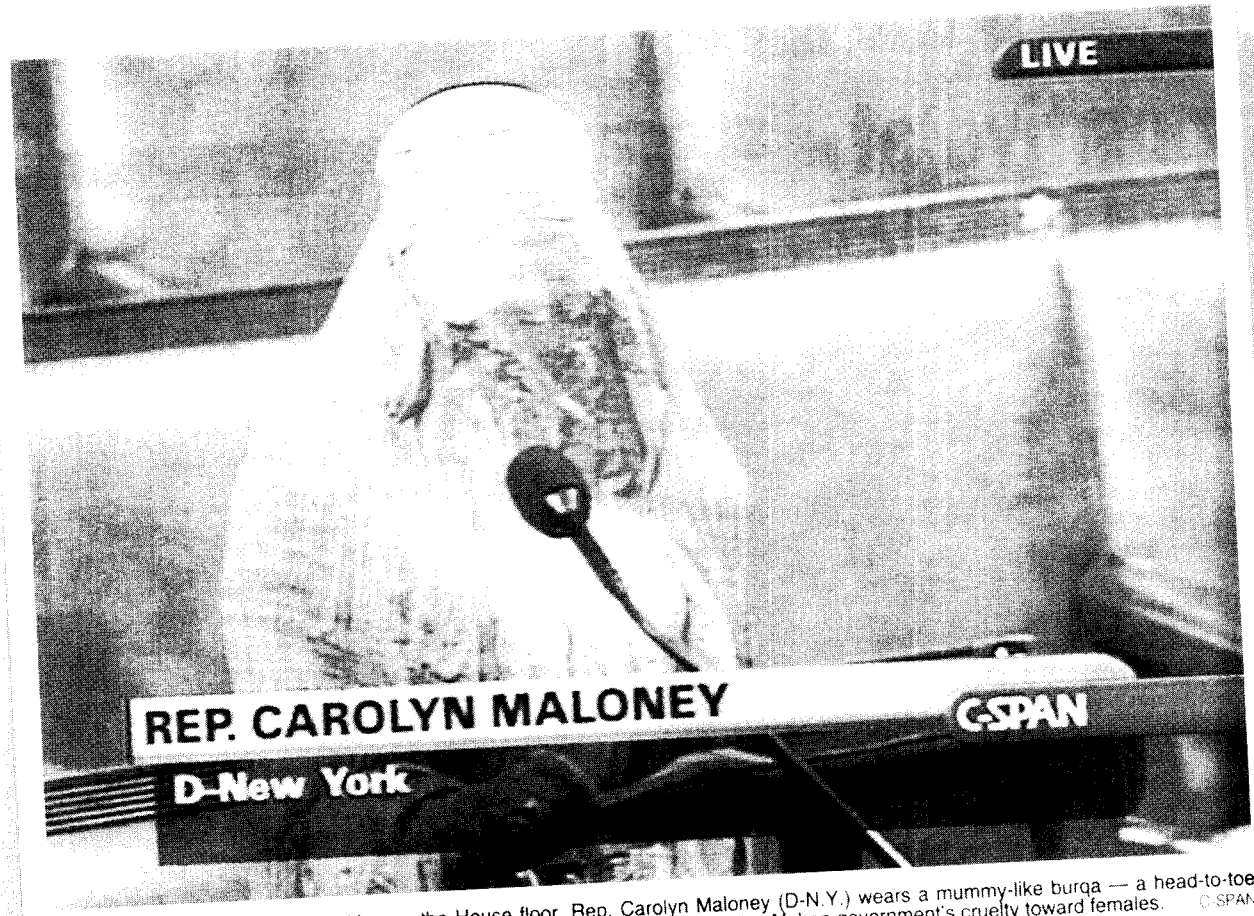
Not a Parody



WRAP PERFORMANCE: Speaking on the House floor, Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.) wears a mummy-like burqa — a head-to-toe covering the Taliban force upon their women — as a visual aid to demonstrate the Afghan government's cruelty toward females. C-SPAN

Pol goes under cover to rip regime

By RITA DELFINER

Rep. Carolyn Maloney didn't veil her outrage at how the Taliban treat women in Afghanistan.

So she let her clothing do the talking when she gave a speech on the floor of the House — shrouded in a head-to-ankle "burqa" with the eyes-hiding mesh panel.

The Taliban orders women to wear the Muslim garb when they're outdoors.

Even her own staff wouldn't have recognized the outspoken Manhattan congresswoman — who is not known for being camera-shy — enveloped in her all-concealing borrowed blue burqa.

She dramatically donned it to give one of several late-night speeches Tuesday on the treatment of women in Afghanistan to a nearly-empty House chamber with C-SPAN cameras whirring.

"If a woman would like to wear such a garment it is her choice, but it is cruel to force her to wear it," Maloney (D-N.Y.) told The Post yesterday.

"You can't describe the humiliating feeling of no one knowing who you are, being totally invisible in any characteristic of your identity. It's like a single-cell prison," she said.

"It's the taking of your identity, of your ability to see, to walk, to move, even to breathe. It's suffocating under it."

"What was most noticeable is your inability to work," she said. "I was trying to read a speech. I could hardly see. The mesh part in front of your eyes is like having 15 screen doors in front of you. You start seeing double."

The Taliban's rigid insistence on the burqa outdoors is a symbol of how the Taliban treats women, said Maloney, whose speech noted that the restrictions on women's freedom "are unfathomable to most Americans."

CAROLYN MALONEY
Her "unveiled" appearance.

the weekly Standard
OCTOBER 29, 2001

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Were the Hijackers Registered to Vote?

Diane Ravitch is a research professor, New York University; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

In the aftermath of the worst terrorist attack in American history, the media have noted how easily the terrorists blended into our open society. They joined health clubs, rented cars, got pilot training, patronized neighborhood bars, obtained credit cards, and moved about freely, without anyone noticing that they were planning a heinous crime or that some were on the FBI's terrorism watch list.

When they bought their one-way tickets to California, the hijackers identified themselves with a driver's license, as most people do. News reports indicated that most obtained their drivers' licenses in New Jersey, Michigan, Virginia, and Florida. Thus far, no reporter has observed that **the hijackers were eligible to vote in state and federal elections, despite the fact that they were not American citizens.**

The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (the motor-voter law) requires that states permit anyone who gets a driver's license to register to vote at the same time. Usually, applicants who register to vote are asked to affirm (without any proof) that they are citizens. Because state motor vehicle bureaus do not have the capability to check applicants' citizenship status, most freely grant drivers' licenses and register voters without regard to citizenship status. Some states have knowingly issued drivers' licenses to tens of thousands of noncitizens. No one knows how many ineligible noncitizens may be registered to vote across the nation as a result of this process.

Most other democratic nations require their citizens to identify themselves before voting, but most of our states do not. Only fourteen states require voters to produce some form of identification. In some states, a sufficient ID may be a driver's license, a student ID, or even a hunting license, all of which are available to noncitizens. **To protect the sanctity of the franchise, potential voters should be required to present proof of citizenship when they register and proof of identity when they vote.**

There is no evidence that voter turnout would be reduced by requiring people to identify themselves, both when registering to vote and when actually voting. Americans expect to identify themselves when boarding airplanes or buying alcohol or collecting government benefits. To date, Congress has been unconcerned about this large loophole that allows noncitizens to exercise the precious right of voting.

It is highly unlikely that voters would object to identifying themselves as eligible citizens when exercising the most fundamental of our rights, the right to participate in selecting those who govern us.

As the events of the past few weeks show, Americans are a resilient people, zealous about protecting our constitutional rights—none of which would be undermined by restricting the franchise to eligible citizens. Indeed, that restriction is already written into our Constitution. It is time to tighten up the motor-voter act and make sure that only qualified American citizens vote in our elections.

— Diane Ravitch

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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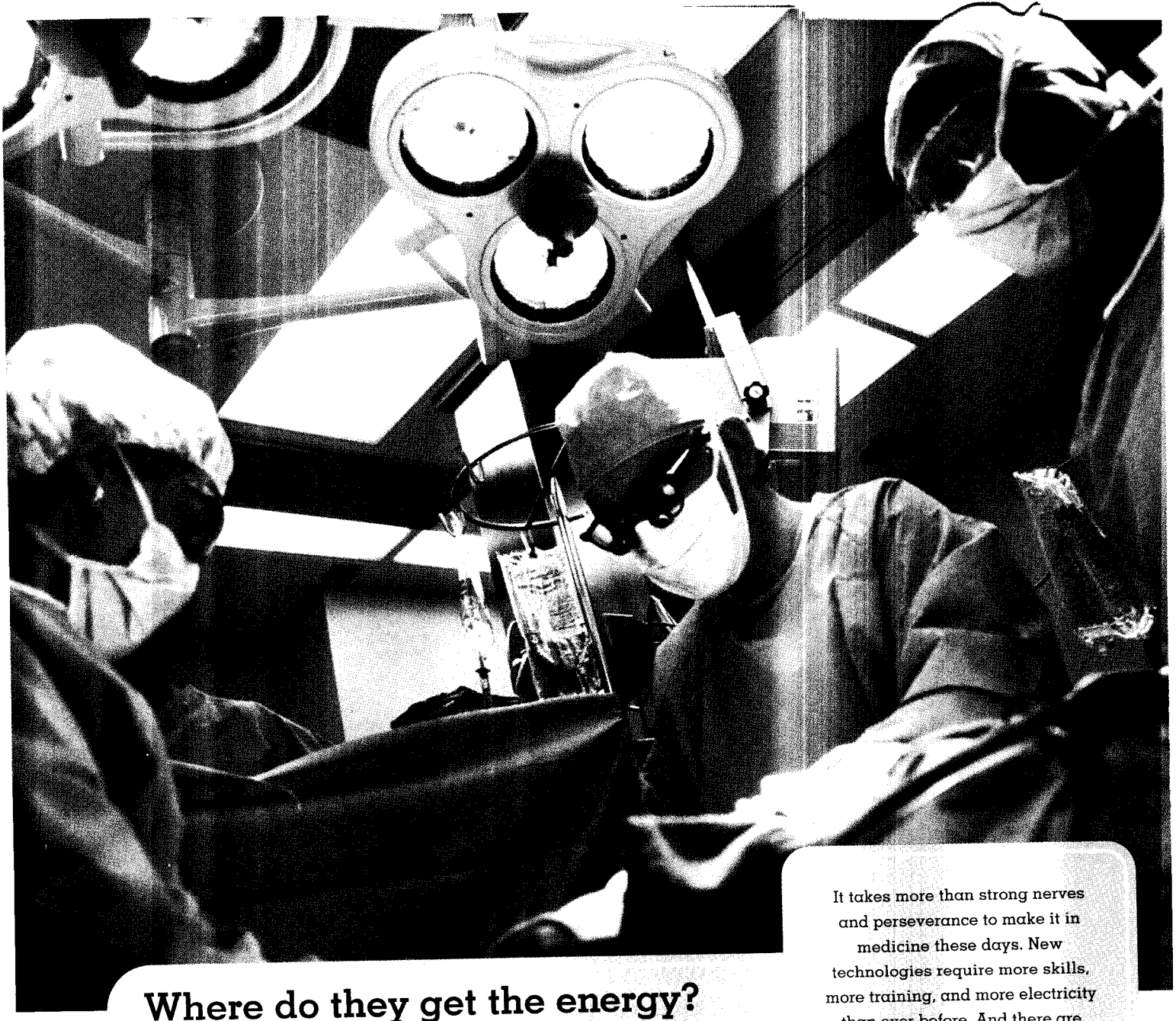

Where do they get the energy?

It takes more than strong nerves and perseverance to make it in medicine these days. New technologies require more skills, more training, and more electricity than ever before. And there are even greater challenges ahead. But with government and community support, America's power companies can build the generation facilities and transmission lines our nation needs. Together, we can ensure that a plentiful electricity supply remains the medical industry's lifeline. Visit www.eei.org to learn how American progress depends on power.

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